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THE EDITOR, *Bantu Studies*, DIE REDAKTEUR, *Bantoe Studies*,
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A FRAGMENT BY W. H. I. BLEEK

[This fragment by the late Dr. Bleek, who died in 1875, was sent for publication by his daughter, Miss D. F. Bleek. It will be seen from the numbering that it is a continuation of Dr. Bleek's *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, the second part (Section I) of which appeared in 1869, and ended with paragraph 558. We reproduce here paragraph 559. From 1870-1875 Dr. Bleek's attentions were diverted to Bushman studies. C.M.D.]

559. It has been shewn in the preceding from the example of the Bantu and Hottentot languages that the Concord and the division of the Nouns into Classes (or Genders) in the Pronominal Languages originally consists in the use made of a part of each noun for the representation of the whole. In the first section of this Part we have passed in review those parts of the noun which have this power of being used for the representation of the noun, and upon which, therefore, the division of the nouns into classes hinges. We have traced as far as possible their original value and followed the variations of meaning which have been attached to them in the course of time, and the numerical relations and correspondences into which they have entered with each other. We have noted also the phonetic changes which they undergo, whereby frequently originally different ones have adopted the same outward appearance, or disappeared altogether. This has had the consequence that frequently the cause for the division of the nouns into classes and for the concord have been lost sight of. A tendency has thus been originated on the one hand to identify this division of the nouns into classes with distinctions observed in nature, and on the other hand to reduce the number of classes as much as possible. If it depended only on the forms of the representative portion of the nouns themselves, the latter tendency would frequently have led to a greater reduction of the number of classes of nouns than actually has taken place. For, the division of the nouns into classes, although originally based upon the use of different derivative particles, is in the further stages of development no longer dependent upon the forms of the nouns, but upon the concord of the other parts of speech with the respective nouns.

560. It is now our business to examine these forms of concord, and to trace their history in the various South African Languages. Here it is first to be noted that whilst the import of that part of the noun upon which the concord hinges, is that of a derivative particle which had

originally the power of a noun, and contributed at the beginning at least a substantial meaning of its own to the noun,—the same element has, in the other parts of speech no meaning of its own, but is merely a representative of the noun, for which it is used. And in strictness the name of true pronouns belongs only to those parts of speech which, without any meaning of their own merely reflect the meaning of the noun or nouns, to which they respectively refer; or which they at the time represent. In this sense, our so-called personal pronouns of the first and second person are not true pronouns; for, they imply the ideas of persons either speaking or spoken to. Nor is the origin of these so-called pronouns of the first and second persons the same as that of the true pronouns. Yet these parts of speech are so often used in the same places as the pronouns, and like the pronouns enter into the formation of other parts of speech, particularly of the verb, that it practically is best to treat them together with the true pronouns, and to give them even the same name although strictly speaking they may not be entitled to it.

561. The most complicated system of pronouns of the first and second persons is met with in the Hottentot Language. Here the first or second person can either be indicated by prefixes or by suffixes. The prefixes are few in number and of restricted use. The prefix *ti-* indicates the person speaking, *si-* persons speaking, or the person speaking and other persons, exclusive, however, of the person spoken to; whilst *sa-* is used to indicate the person spoken to, or persons spoken to, or any number of persons of which the person or persons spoken to form a part, including even the speaker himself. Thus *sa-* corresponds not only to "thou" (*tu*) and to "you" (*vos*), but also to our "we" (*nos*), when the latter means "you (or thou) and I" (*vos [sive tu] atque ego*) or "you (or thou) and we" (*vos [sive tu] atque nos*). The fact that one and the same prefix is used for the singular and plural of the second person (exclusive or inclusive of the first) would lead one to suppose that the prefix *si* of the first person plural (exclusive of the second) is either originally identical with that of the first person singular *ti-*, or contains the latter with some additional element, indicative of the plural. But such etymologies made on the basis of one single language are exceedingly dangerous; and particularly in such well worn words as the so-called personal pronouns we meet with constant cases of homophony, without any real original identity, as e.g. German *sie* "she" and *sie* "they," *ihr* "her," *ihr* "you," *ihr* their, etc.

The Bushman language in fact, if it can be compared with the Hottentot, renders it even doubtful whether in the latter the *sa* where it indicates the first person plural (or dual) as including the second, is in its

origin identical with the *sa* indicating the second person. The Bushman which has *si* identical in form and meaning with the Hottentot prefix of the first person exclusive (of the second), although this *si* in Bushman is not only used as prefix but also as suffix, has for the first person plural when including the second the form *i*, whilst the second person plural has in Bushman the form *u*, and the second person singular the form *a* which may or may not be identical with the Hottentot *sa*-.

562. At all events, whether it is due to mere homophony or original identity the (personal) prefix of the second person in Hottentot has apparently now a far wider meaning than the pronouns of the second person in our languages; whilst the prefix of the first person plural (and dual) is limited so as not to include any cases, in which the second person is included in our pronoun "we." *Si*- is "I and he, she, it, or they," but not "I and you," which is expressed by *sa*- whilst this (or another) *sa*- also means "you," and even "thou." In the (personal) suffixes of the first and second person, on the contrary, the same distribution of the persons takes place as in our own languages; but a manifold distribution of gender and number is to be observed here, unparalleled, as far as we know, in any other language. There are thus not less than seven distinct suffixes indicating the second, six or seven indicating the first person. Hereby a very complex system of indicating these persons is originated, particularly by the simultaneous use of prefix and suffix form. For, as the plural (and dual) prefixes of these persons are not co-extensive, it happens that the plural and dual suffixes of the first person can be (and are) used together with prefixes of either the first or second person. This will most clearly be seen when we give in one view those forms, in which both the prefixes and suffixes of the first and second persons are combined without any intervening medium. These combined forms are used as the empathic pronouns of the first and second persons, as far as the ten following forms of them occur in ten different Hottentot documents.

That the Nama forms in the preceding table are so much more numerous than those of the other dialects, is doubtless only attributable to the deficiency of our sources of information regarding the latter. It must *prima facie* be assumed that most, if not all, distinct forms of these personal pronouns still met with in Nama, exist also in the !Kora, and existed in the Eastern and Cape dialects, when they were living tongues. In one instance, (that of the first person singular), other dialects appear to have better preserved the distinction of the gender, whilst the Nama shows for both genders of this first person only one form which curiously enough is identical with the feminine one of the !Kora dialects. The distinction of feminine and common forms of the suffixes of the first person

dual is very doubtful. Only one authority Tyndall has distinct forms for the feminine dual and common dual, whilst all other authorities only know one dual form which is equally used for the feminine and common, and is therefore, called the common dual of the first person. The non-existence of feminine dual forms, distinct from those of the common dual, for the second and third persons and among the derivative suffixes of the nouns, renders it probable that also in the first person dual only two genders (or classes) are distinguished in Hottentot in the suffixes of the first person dual; and that Tyndall has taken two varieties of the common dual of the first person to represent different genders. However this point is still to be ascertained. Peculiar is also Tyndall's form of the plural masculine suffix of the first person *-kum* instead of *-ke* as given by other authorities. This *-kum* as the analysis will show, is evidently an archaic form.

The fine distinction which the use of those pronouns of which the forms are certain, achieves, is very striking. For example, when a man wishes to indicate himself and his wife, or a wife herself and her husband, then either of them will use *sa-am* "thou and I"; if talking to each other, but when addressing their children *si-im* "I man and she" or "I woman and he" will be used by them. Or two brothers talking of themselves to others say *si-khym* "I and he," but to each other they are *sa-khym* "thou and I." A similar variety of distinct forms with different meanings of the pronouns of the first person dual is indeed met with in some Australian languages. In the Twan River dialect of Western Australia, e.g. Sir George Grey remarks that "we two" is expressed by *ngal-li*, when it indicates "brothers and sisters, or friends," by *ngal-la* when "a parent and child," by *ngan-nik* when "husband and wife," and by *ngan-na-na* when "brothers-in-law." Whether in the Australian languages these fine distinctions are also originally based upon similar clear grammatical distinctions as in Hottentot, or have come into existence in another way, we are as yet unable to say.

The use of double forms for the first person plural dependent upon the circumstance whether the second person is included or not, is not restricted to the Hottentot language, although as far as we know, this and the Bushman are the only African languages in which this complicated arrangement is to be met with. But the Polynesian dialects and many American languages observe the same distinction; and in some of these languages it seems that the difference in these forms is based upon the same principle as in Hottentot, viz. upon the different value of the personal prefixes from that of the suffixes. In Hottentot as we said the prefix of the second person has, whether by homophony with that of the first

person plural (or dual) inclusive, or by original identity, now apparently a more extended meaning, comprehending all cases where the second person is one of the persons indicated, whilst the suffix of the same second person is of far more restricted use and gives way to the first person when this person makes one of the party.

The Hottentot personal prefixes *sa-* (II s. and pl. and dual and I pl. incl.), *si-* (I, pl. incl.) and *ti-* (I. s.) are of very restricted use except as parts of the emphatic pronouns. By themselves they are mainly then used in the singular, although if we can trust the translations, they also occur occasionally in the plural, in which case, however, a personal suffix at the end indicates the number and gender, as *sa !gein ða -do* "ye children of vipers" (Matth. III F). Besides their being used in constructions like these (which will be explained below), the personal prefixes appear also as prefixed possessive pronouns, as *ti om-mi* "my house," *sa tarass* "my wife."

The personal suffixes on the contrary are almost universally employed in Hottentot. Their forms are generally identical with the latter portions of the emphatic pronouns; and in the same way the true pronouns (i.e. those of the third person) have usually the same form as are met with in the terminations of the nouns of the same gender and number, but the masc. sing. suffix as pronoun does not assimilate itself to a preceding nasal (*m, n*) or *r*. The only case in which different forms are observed are the suffixed objective pronouns which are always more nearly attached to the stem of the verb than the subjective pronouns. The objective pronoun suffixes have, however, only in the masculine singular and feminine singular different forms; and here in most cases the objective is distinguished by the suffixed ending in *-i*. Whether this is an original sign of the objective case of pronouns, or whether it is merely the remainder of the ancient terminating vowel of the suffixes is not clear. I am however more inclined to the latter supposition, particularly as the masculine nouns formed from stems ending in *m n r* still have this ending *-i* and, it appears also in the causal forms of both masculine singular and feminine singular nouns.

(546). The different forms of these suffix pronouns for the three persons are best shown by the following table.

In comparing the dual and plural forms of these suffixes it is clear that each suffix of the first and second person merely consists of a conglomeration of two elements, viz. the pronoun identical with that of the third person for the same gender and number, and a personal element. The

latter seems to have been *-u* for the second person plural (and dual) and *-m* or *-ma* for the first person plural (and dual). Thus we analyse

Second Person.		First Person	
Dual masc.	<i>-kho</i> = <i>KHA</i> — <i>U</i> and <i>Khum</i>	= <i>KHA-MA</i> .	
Dual comm.	<i>-ro</i> = <i>RA</i> — <i>U</i> „ <i>rum(im-am)</i>	= <i>RA-M(A)</i> .	
Plural masc.	<i>-ko</i> = <i>-KU</i> — <i>U</i> „ <i>kum (ke)</i>	= <i>-KU-M(A)</i>	
Plural fem.	<i>-so</i> = <i>-TI</i> — <i>U</i> „ <i>se</i>	= <i>-TI-M(A)</i> .	
Plural comm.	<i>-du</i> = <i>-N</i> — <i>U</i> „ <i>-da</i>	= <i>-N-M(A)</i> .	

The changes in the dual and in the plural masculine forms are so slight as to require hardly any explanation. The *-u* of the second person is evidently influenced by the preceding vowel (be this *a* or *i* or even *u* itself) so as to be converted into *o*, before which the terminating vowel of the pronoun disappears. The labialconsonant of the first person evidently has a tendency to convert a preceding *-a* into a short labial vowel. The change of the dental tenuis of the feminine plural pronoun into the sibilant *s* has its parallel in the form of the feminine singular. This has in Hottentot constantly *-s*, which a comparison of other sex denoting languages shews clearly to have been derived from a former *-t-*. Nor is the total elision of the *r* in most forms of the common dual of the first person in any way surprising. Nor are we without analogy for the interchange between *n* and *d* which we find in the common plural. For example in the Katkop variety of Koranna Hottentot the *d* of the diminutive termination *-da* changes into *n* before the dual endings *-kã* m.s. and *sã* f.s., as *gumankã* “two little calves,” dual of *gumadãp* diminutive of *gümap* “an ox,” and *õgnassã* “two little daughters” from *õ-ã-das* “little daughters” dimin. of *õãš* “daughter.”

The personal element for the second person plural (and dual) *-u* which has thus been laid bare by analysis in Hottentot, is homophonous with the Bushman pronoun of the second person plural *u*, which is, however, used as prefix as well as suffix. This is, of course, to be considered as a mere coincidence, as long as the common origin of the Hottentot and Bushman languages is not proved. As it is the comparison of these forms, so-called personal pronouns, has very generally been attempted in far too loose and unscientific a way.

Whilst the personal elements of the plural (and dual) in these suffixes are evidently quite distinct from the prefixes of the same persons in the plural, the suffixed personal elements, of the singular are apparently identical with or nearly resembling to the prefixes.

II. m.s. *-ts* evidently contracted from *-P-s*.

II. f.s. *-s* evidently contracted from *-S-s*.

Nama

!Ko

Schmelen | Knudsen | Tindall | Krönlein

Kalkot

I. sing. m.

ti-ta

ti-te
a te re

" " f.

I. dual m.

zi-kum

sikhom sikhum si khum

si ka am
si ka am

" " f.

zi-im

si-im

si im
si rum

si-som

" " c.

I. pl. m.

zii-kee

si-ke si-kum si-gye

si kye

" " f.

zii-see

si-se si-si si-se

si se

" " c.

zii-ta (a)

si-da

si da

II. & I dual m.

zaa-kum

sakhom sa-khum sa-khum

" " f.

}

sa-am sa-im
sa-rum

" " c.

II. & I pl. m.

zaa-kee

sa-ke sa-kum sa-gye

" " f.

zaa see

sa se sa-si sa-se

" " c.

zaa da

sa-da

II s. m.

zaa-ts

sa-ts sa-ts sa-ts

" " f.

zaa-s

sa-s sa-s sa-s

II. dual m.

zaa-koo

sa-kho

" " c.

zaa-roo

sa-ro

II. pl. m.

za-koo

sa-ko sa-ko sa-go

" " f.

zao soo

sa-so

" " c.

zau doe

sa-du

sa-du

	Cape	Eastern	English with detailed meanings	
urao	Leibniz	Sparrowman		
ri (tired)	<u>ti-ri</u>	<u>ti-ri</u> , or <u>ti-li</u>	I	I man
i-ta		<u>ti-lti</u>		I woman
			we	I man and he
				I woman and she
				I man & she or I woman and he
-kye			we	(we men)
-see				I and they (we women)
-da	<u>ci-ta</u>	<u>zi-ta</u> (!)		(we)
			we	we two men
				thou and I we two women
				a man to a woman, or a woman to a man
-da			we	we men
				thou and we, or you and I
				we women
			thou	we
ts (or ts L. ts B.)	<u>t?aa-ts</u>	<u>ta-ts</u>		thou man
a-s		<u>sa-s</u>		thou woman
			you	you two men
				you two women, or thou man & thou woman
-kau				you men
kaau-t)				you women
-sau			you	you
-du				

Thus the personal suffix *-s* of the second person singular compares itself without difficulty to the prefix *sa-* of the same person; and in the suffixes *-ta*, *-te* and *-ri* (Koranna) of the first person singular can hardly but be related to the prefix *ti-* of the same person.

Yet the *-a* in *-ta* is not explained. It would be a little rash to identify it at once with the *-a* in *d-a* (Ic.pl.), which in connection with the other plural and dual forms we refer to an ancient *-MA*; but it is not impossible. Far simpler is the system of so-called personal pronouns in the Bantu languages. There is neither the distinction of inclusive and exclusive forms of the first person plural nor is the sex of the person in any way distinguished, nor are there any dual forms. The arrangement as regards the first and second persons is identical with that of our modern languages.

NOTES FOR A GRAMMAR OF THE KURIA LANGUAGE

By A. SILLERY

FOREWORD

Kuria is spoken by some 65,000 people, the bulk of whom live in the North Mara Sub-district of the Musoma District of Tanganyika Territory. The Southern boundary of their country is the Mara River which flows into Lake Victoria on its South-Eastern shores. The Northern and Western boundary is the frontier between Tanganyika and Kenya, though about 15,000 Bakuria live on the Kenya side and reach to the Mgori River. On the Western side, cutting off the Bakuria from the lake, are the Bagirango, originally Bantu, but now much under Nilotic influence from the Luo country. To the South are the Simbiti, much akin to the Bakuria. Some 4,000 Bakuria live South of the Mara River.

The tribe has been thoroughly studied by Mr. E. C. Baker, for many years District Officer, Musoma, and his treatise, "North Mara," gives the results of his investigations into the History and Customs of the tribe.

It will be noticed that I have made frequent reference to Dr. Alice Werner's "Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages." Her constant desire to help beginners, as well as her kindly encouragement to me, embolden me to this act of plagiarism.

A vocabulary, not always accurate, of Kikuria, will be found in Sir Harry Johnston's *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*.

References :

W.—*Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages*. By Alice Werner. (Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co., Ltd.).

H. J.—*Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*. By H. H. Johnston. (Clarendon Press).

M.W.W.—*Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages*.

By Carl Meinhof, translated, revised and enlarged in collaboration with the author and Dr. Alice Werner by N. J. v. Warmelo. (Dietrich Reimer Ernst Vohsen, Berlin).

PHONETICAL NOTES

In this essay I use the spelling used by Bishop Steere in his Swahili Books. Roughly, it may be described as follows:

The vowels are pronounced as they are in Italian and the consonants as in English.

The consonants “*c*,” “*q*” and “*x*” are, therefore, not used.

The system has serious drawbacks, in that it is impossible, without the use of marks and signs, which I have avoided, to make any fine phonetical distinctions. I have made exceptions to the avoidance of conventional signs in the use of *ŋ* for the nasal velar sound heard in the English “long” and *ʝ* for the palatalized nasal in the French “ignoble.”

In Kuria, the following points should be noted:

The vowels “*o*” and “*u*.” These are frequently almost indistinguishable. It is interesting to note that the same situation exists in Nyanja. Dr. Werner says, “. . . . Thus perhaps in Nyanja, the learner will be in doubt whether the word for “five” (people) is *asanu* or *asano*, and an old resident, who knows the language fairly well, will tell him that ‘these endings are very uncertain, and the people themselves sometimes say one and sometimes the other.’ The truth is that the sound is intermediate between ‘*u*’ and ‘*o*,’ the mouth-opening being wider than for the first and narrower than for the second.”

The same confusion may arise in the distinction between “*e*” and “*i*.” It may be said that this opening of the “*u*” and “*i*” is most noticeable at the beginning of words. I was in some doubt, for instance, whether to write the initial vowel of the 9th noun class “*e*” or “*i*” and finally decided on the latter, and when hesitating between “*o*” and “*u*.” have written the sound as it struck my ear.¹ The student should bear in mind that doubt exists and will then not be confused by spelling which, to *his* ear, does not appear to represent the sound.²

There is a composite vowel sound “*a*” and “*i*,” resulting from the imperfect combination of the last vowel of the prefix and the first of the root, when these are “*a*” and “*i*” respectively. Thus: Abaibi, thieves; *amaino*, teeth; etc. In the word *ywoina*, the “*w*” has had the effect (noted below) of turning the following “*a*” into an “*o*.”

¹ The inseparable pronoun of the 2nd person singular is especially difficult to determine. I have used *u-* throughout. For these intermediate vowels Meinhof uses the symbols ‘*e*’ and ‘*o*.’

² See also H.J., p. 41, and for a similar situation in Zulu, M.W.W., p. 84, section 7.

As in most Bantu languages, "r"-sounds or tremulants are extremely difficult to distinguish from "l"-sounds where tremulation is weaker. Where there is doubt, I have adopted the "l" spelling to avoid confusion.³ I would lay stress on this convention, as a number of my friends maintain that there is no "l" sound in Kuria. I am of the opinion, however, that, when tremulants occur, they consist in a sound something between the "l" and the "r."

The consonants "p" and "f" do not exist in Kuria, though "b" is sometimes sounded not unlike the former. A person attempting to pronounce the Swahili word *mpumbafu* will say *mtumbasu*. Swahili *kupima* becomes *okutima*. The suffix "-pa," which is found in other languages, is "-ha" in Kuria; e.g. Swahili, *-nenepa*; Kuria, *-neneha*. (The meaning of the words is not quite identical).

Another phenomenon is the disappearance of the vowel between two tremulants and the running together of the two tremulants to make a long rolled "r-r-," e.g. the well known word *omulilo* (fire, common to most neighbouring Bantu languages) is, in Kuria, *omor-ro*. This rule appears to apply only when the elided vowel is the penultimate. It follows that it applies to the perfect mood of such verbs as *okutula* and *okuhira*, which, instead of being *natulire*, *nahirire*, etc., are *naturre*, *naherre*, etc.

The "w" sound, when preceded by a consonant, merges into an "a" immediately following it to form an open "o." The "w" remains just perceptible: e.g. possessive pronoun his, hers, *-aye*; but, in association with the 3rd noun class, it becomes *-oye*. *Omugi gwoye*, "his, her village." The present indicative of "to refuse" is, in its 1st form, *ndayga*, *ulayga*, etc., but the infinitive is *okwoyga*.

Dahl's phonetic law is evidenced by such words as *ingoko*, fowl; or *inguku*, hill.

Complete assimilation is found, especially in words borrowed from the Swahili, such as *talatasi* for *karatasi*, paper; and incomplete assimilation, in such forms as the 1st person singular of the 1st form of "to refuse," *ndayga*.⁴

I have also heard instances of transposition in the verb *okuhagacha*, "to build," which I have heard pronounced *okugahacha*.

³ H.J., p. 40. M.W.W., p. 9.

⁴ For a fuller description of these phenomena see W., Chapter 14.

The word Kuria itself has the accent on the “u” and not on the “i.” According to the system of spelling I have adopted, it should be written “Kurya.” I have, however, followed the traditional spelling.

NOUN CLASSES

It will be seen from the following table of noun classes that Kuria has the longer form of the prefix : *omu-*, *emi-*, etc.⁵

In classifying the nouns, I have followed Meinhof's arrangement, which has also been adopted by Dr. Werner.

Class 1.	<i>Omuntu.</i>	A person.
„ 2.	<i>Abantu.</i>	Men, people.
„ 3.	<i>Omuti.</i>	A tree.
„ 4.	<i>Emiti.</i>	Trees.
„ 5.	<i>Elisero.</i>	A hide.
This class is frequently used pejoratively : A miserable old man, <i>Eligaka</i> . (<i>Omugaka</i> , old man.) ⁶		
„ 6.	<i>Amasero.</i>	Hides. Plural of 5, 14, 17, 20, and sometimes of 11.
„ 7.	<i>Ekintu.</i>	A thing.
„ 8.	<i>Ebintu.</i>	Plural of 7 and of 13.
„ 9.	<i>Iyombe.</i>	Ox.
„ 10.	<i>Echiyombe.</i>	Oxen.
„ 11.	<i>Olusiri,</i> <i>Orusiri.</i>	Rope. The plural is generally Class 10, but sometimes 6.
„ 12.	Does not exist.	
„ 13.	<i>Akantu.</i>	A little thing. The plural is 8.
„ 14.	<i>Obugaka.</i>	Old age.
This class includes abstract ideas, but is not infrequently used in a collective sense. <i>Obugaka</i> sometimes means “a crowd of old men;” <i>obunyonyi</i> , “a large flight of birds.” Names of countries also come into this class : <i>Bulaya</i> , Europe ; <i>Bukuria</i> , the country of Kuria, etc.		
Class 15.	The infinitives of verbs.	
„ 16.	<i>Ahasi.</i>	A place.
„ 17.	<i>Okutwi.</i>	Ear. The plural is in 6.

⁵ I need not enter into a discussion here as to the nature of this form, but refer the reader to W., p. 48. The occurrence of the prefix is not constant and it is frequently elided.

⁶ A survival of the depreciation Class.

Class 18. *Omunwa*. Mouth. The plural is in 3.

„ 20. *Oguntu* A large clumsy thing.

On the other hand, it might properly be included in Class 21, as denoting enormous size rather than unwieldiness. I once heard a carrier refer to a particularly heavy load as *oguntu gunu*. The plural is in 6.

THE ADJECTIVE

The concord of the adjective is as follows. (The adjective used is *-iya*, good.)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Omuntu muya</i> . | A good man. |
| 2. <i>Abantu baiya</i> . | Good men. |
| 3. <i>Omuti muya</i> . | A good tree. |
| 4. <i>Emiti miya</i> . | Good trees. |
| 5. <i>Elisero liya</i> . | A good hide. |
| 6. <i>Amasero maiya</i> . | Good hides. |
| 7. <i>Ekintu kiya</i> . | A good thing. |
| 8. <i>Ebintu biya</i> . | Good things. |
| 9. <i>Iyombe nchiya</i> . | A good ox. |
| 10. <i>Echiyombe chinchiya</i> . | Good oxen. |
| 11. <i>Olusiri luya</i> . | A good rope. |
| 13. <i>Akantu kaiya</i> . | A good little thing. |
| 14. <i>Obugaka buya</i> . | Good old age. |
| 15. <i>Okukwa kuya</i> . | A good death. |
| | (Death in the abstract, as distinguished from the act of dying, is: <i>oluku</i> .) |
| 16. <i>Ahasi haiya</i> . | A good place. |
| 17. <i>Okutwi kuya</i> . | A good ear. |
| 18. <i>Omunwa muya</i> . | A good mouth. |
| 20. <i>Oguntu gubibi</i> . | A bad enormous thing. |

It will be noted that the composite vowel sound referred to on page 4 occurs in classes 2, 6, 13 and 16.

Where a genuine adjective root is lacking, the deficiency is supplied by resort to a noun with the possessive particle prefixed to it or to the use of verbs. Such forms as *anurre*, he is fat (perfect mood of *anula*, to be fat) are commonplaces, and need not be enlarged on here.

Degrees of comparison do not exist. There is a makeshift in the use of the verbs, *kira*, to surpass, and *sinda*, borrowed from the Swahili

shinda ; or else the comparison may be expressed by implying that, while one person or thing has a certain quality, another has much of that quality, e.g. *Muya bukoŋu ni ŋhwi, Chacha kusi Werema?* Literally, "Good much is who, Chacha or Werema?" In other words, "Who is the better, Chacha or Werema?"

The following is a short list of common adjectives :

Good :	- <i>Iya</i> .
Bad :	- <i>Bibi</i> .
Short :	- <i>Eŋe</i>
Tall :	- <i>Tambi</i> .
All :	- <i>Onswe</i> .
Red :	- <i>Berretu</i> .
White :	- <i>Abu</i> .
Black :	- <i>Mwamu</i> . ⁷
Stupid :	- <i>Kaygi</i> .
Clever :	- <i>ŋeŋi</i> .
Big :	- <i>Nene</i> .
Small :	- <i>Ke</i> .
Few :	- <i>Suhu</i> .
Many :	- <i>Aru</i> .

When referring to cattle, the prefix *ŋa-* is used for female stock and *ki-* for male. *Imori ŋabuluha*, a red heifer ; *Igaini kibuluha*, a red bull.

Cattle have a highly specialized and complicated colour vocabulary of their own. Of the ordinary adjectives of colour, *-abu* is used when the animal is pure white. *-Mwamu* is sometimes heard, but *-berretu* never.

NUMERALS

One :	- <i>Mwi</i> .
Two :	- <i>ibili</i> .
Three :	- <i>tatu</i>
Four :	- <i>nne</i> .
Five :	- <i>tano</i> .
Six :	- <i>sansaba</i> .
Seven :	<i>muhungate</i> .
Eight :	- <i>nane</i> .
Nine :	<i>kenda</i> .
Ten :	<i>ikumi</i> .

⁷ An exception to the rule that *a > o* after 'w' preceded by a consonant.

It will be noted that seven, nine and ten are nouns, and, unlike the other numerals, do not take the concord.

Multiples of ten are expressed by the plural of *muloŋgo*, e.g. *Muloŋgo ibili*. "One hundred" is *igana*, plural *magana abili*, *atatu*, etc. "One thousand" is *kikwi*, plural *bikwi bibili*, *bitatu*, etc.

It will be seen that the numeral concord differs from the adjectival in the 3rd and 6th classes, for, whereas we say *emiti miya*, *amasero maiya*, when using numerals we say :

<i>emiti</i>	}	<i>itatu</i>	<i>amasero</i>	}	<i>atatu</i>
<i>muloŋgo</i>			<i>magana</i>		

In the 10th class, in *-nne*, four, and *-nane*, eight, the prefix is a long "i"; further, the stem alters, the simple nasal sound becoming palatalized to produce the sound "ɲ" as in the French "ignoble." Thus, "4 oxen" is *echiŋombe ipe*; "8 oxen," *echiŋombe inape*. In the latter, both nasals have become palatalized.

In the same class (the 10th) the first "t" of *-tatu* and the "t" of *tano* become "s."

E.g. *echiŋombe isatu*, *isano*.

The Ordinal Numbers

These are expressed "by turning the cardinal number into a noun preceded by the possessive particle of the noun with which the number is to agree,"⁸ and, in the case of the numerals which take the concord (i.e. all but seven, nine and ten) by inserting the particle *ka* between the possessive particle and the noun-number, e.g. *omuntu wa ka bili*, the second man; *omuntu wa muhūŋgate*, the seventh man.

Twice, thrice, etc., is expressed by prefixing *ka-* to the numeral. *Akacha kabili*, and he came twice. When he came the second time, *Hara achile kabili*.

THE PRONOUN

The Inseparable Pronoun

The following are the various forms of the inseparable pronoun in Kuria, according to the noun class.

⁸W., p. 140

1st person :	Singular, <i>ni-</i>	Plural, <i>tu-</i>
2nd person :	„ <i>u-</i>	„ <i>mu-</i>
	Class 1. <i>a-</i>	
	„ 2. <i>ba-</i>	
	„ 3. <i>gu-</i>	
	„ 4. <i>gi-</i>	
	„ 5. <i>li-</i>	
	„ 6. <i>ga-</i>	
	„ 7. <i>ki-</i>	
	„ 8. <i>bi-</i>	
	„ 9. <i>i-</i>	
	„ 10. <i>chi-</i>	
	„ 11. <i>lu-</i>	
	„ 13. <i>ka-</i>	
	„ 14. <i>bu-</i>	
	„ 15. <i>ku-</i>	
	„ 16. <i>ha-</i>	
	„ 17. <i>ku-</i>	
	„ 18. <i>gu-</i>	
	„ 20. <i>gu-</i>	

The above forms are used both as subject and object pronouns, the only exceptions being the second person singular and plural, the object pronouns of which are *-ku-* and *-ba-* respectively.

The Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is “*-i-*” and is placed in the same position as the object pronoun, e.g. *Kubisa*, to hide ; *kuibisa*, to hide oneself.

The Personal Pronoun

I	<i>Uni.</i>
Thou	<i>Uwe.</i>
He, She	<i>Awe.</i>
We	<i>Baitu.</i>
You	<i>Bai n u.</i>
They	<i>Mbo</i> (but the demonstratives <i>banu</i> , <i>bayo</i> or <i>bana</i> are more frequently used).

The Possessive Pronoun

The possessive pronouns of the three persons singular and plural are as follows :

My	<i>-ane.</i>
Thy	<i>-ao.</i>

His	}	-aye. (3rd class, -oye).
Hers		
Our		-aitu.
Your		-aiñu.
Their		-abo.

The prefix varies with the thing possessed ; thus, *omuntu wane*, my man ; *ekintu kyabo*, their thing, etc. In this connection the table of inseparable pronouns should be studied.

But if the possessor happens to be of any other class but the first, the second part of the pronoun varies with the class of the possessor, the first part continuing to agree with the class of the thing possessed. Thus, if the possessor is an ox and the thing possessed is a hide, an Mkuria will say, *Elisero lyayo*. Here "hide" is of the 5th class, therefore the first part of the pronoun is *lya-*. Ox, on the other hand, is of the 9th class, and therefore the second part of the pronoun is *-yo*. There is no need for me to multiply examples of what is a very common rule in Bantu speech.

The Demonstrative Pronoun

There are three forms of demonstrative pronoun :

1. When the object designated is close at hand ; the inseparable pronoun prefixed to *-nu*.
2. When the object is a little further away or has just been referred to ; the inseparable pronoun prefixed to *-yo*.
3. When the object is in the distance ; the inseparable pronoun prefixed to *-ra*.

In all the above forms, "*u-*" takes the place of "*a-*" when the object demonstrated is of the first class. *Omuntu unu, uyo, ura*.

There is another form, which Dr. Werner (p. 99) says is sometimes called the Adverbial Demonstrative, and which is formed as follows : *N*—inseparable pronoun—*O*—demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative may take any of the three forms mentioned above, according to the distance of the object. If the latter is, say, of the 7th class, the construction will be, *ñkyo kinu, kiyo*, or *kina*, as the case may be. The prefix "*n-*" (pronounced *ñ* before the "*k*") is one of the forms that serve as Present Indicative of the verb "to be," being a contraction of *nĩ* (see page 25). It is noteworthy that the inseparable pronoun of the first class in this formation is *-gu-* and the demonstrative *gunu*.

The Relative Pronoun

There is in Kuria no proper relative. The sense is conveyed by the use of the demonstrative. Thus, "The man who is coming has cattle," would be rendered, "This (man) is coming, he has cattle"; *unu alacha ana chiyombe*.

-ho, -ko, and -mo are sometimes used as relatives, e.g. *Niho naraye*, "This is where I slept."

THE INTERROGATIVES

The interrogative is almost invariably placed before, and not after, the verb. *Ndohe ulihika?* "When will you arrive?" "*h'ukugya?*" "Where are you going?" etc.

The interrogatives most used are as follows:

Where?	<i>hai, he, h'?</i>
When?	<i>ndohe?</i>
At what time?	<i>Ninga ki?</i>
At what period	<i>ɣkaga ki?</i>

The two latter interrogatives are invariably used instead of *ndohe* when their particular meaning is intended. *Ndohe* is used more with reference to future acts. *Ndohe alicha?* "When will he come?" etc., but, *ninga ki achile?* "At what time did he come?"

What?	-ki? Rarely used alone. Almost invariably preceded by a verb or noun.
Which?	The Inseparable pronoun (in the first class "u-" and not "a-") followed by -he? uhe? bahe? etc.
Who?	<i>ɣhwi?</i>
Why?	<i>ɣki keger-r-e?</i>
How many?	-linga?
How?	<i>niyeki?</i>
In what degree?	} -ɣgana?
To what extent?	
Like what?	

This pronoun is rarely used by itself, as is the case in -linga, but generally in relation to some place or object, e.g. a person wishing to enquire as to the distance of one place from another will require you to demonstrate, as follows:

hanyana hano na he?

"Like as here to where?"

and you will answer :

hanyana hano n'omungundu gura.

"Like as here and (to) that plantation."

Or it may be used in a form which is not that of a direct question, as in the following example, which illustrates the difference between *-linga* and *-ygana*.

Q. *Ana abana balinga?*

"He has children how many?"

A. 1. *Ntamanyire hanga abana*

"I do not know perhaps children

anabo bangana.

he has them how many."

or :

A. 2. *Ana abana bangana eh!*

The *eh* is a grunt, to attract attention to the fact that the number of children referred to is being shown on the fingers.

-Linga demands as an answer a numeral qualifying some object or objects (e.g. *ana abana batano*) but *-ygana* invites a comparison with some other object, the size or number or distance of which is known or visibly demonstrated.

THE VERB

I. The Infinitive Mood.

In this mood the verb-stem has the prefix *ku-*, which in turn is preceded by the initial vowel "o-" (preprefix):

e.g. *Okutuna*, to seek, to want.

II. The Indicative Mood. Present tense.

The present tense of the Indicative may be formed in two different ways :

1. Inseparable pronoun—tense-prefix *la*—verb-stem : *Ndatuna*, *ulatuna*, *alatuna*, *tulatuna*, *mulatuna*, *balatuna*.

2. Inseparable pronoun—infinitive. *ηkutuna, ukutuna, akutuna, tukutuna, mukutuna, bakutuna*, e.g. *ηki ukutuna?* "What do you want?"

There is also a very commonly used form which appears modal, made up of the infinitive without the initial vowel, followed by the *-li* form of the present indicate of the verb "to be:" *Kutuna ndi, kutuna uli, kutuna ali, kutuna tuli, kutuna muli, kutuna bali*; "I am (in the act of) seeking, wanting."

Note: The combination of the infinitive and the *-li* form of "to be" is often used (not only in the present) to indicate action not completed but in progress, e.g. *ηki wali kukola?* "What were you doing?" (cf. Swahili *Ulikuwa ukifanya nini?*)

The Future Tense

I. When action is contemplated almost immediately, but not generally for the day on which one is speaking, the future is formed thus: Inseparable pronoun—tense prefix "*-li-*" —verb-stem, e.g. *Ndituna, ulituna*, etc.

II. Rather vague, and implying an indefinite distant future, the first form of the present: *Ndatuna*, etc.

III. In a form not so frequently used, the inseparable pronoun is prefixed immediately to the verb-stem. *Nicha, ucha*, etc.

I have been at some pains to discover the exact "nuance" implied by this form. It is sometimes used, for instance, as if in answer to a doubt, thus:

Q. "Will you arrive in time? It is getting late."

A. "Nihika (I will arrive all right)."

But the rules as to its use generally are still obscure.

It should be noted that in interrogation the first form is almost invariably used, e.g. "When will you come?" *Ndohe ulicha?*

The Past Tense

The past tense is not very common, as its place is often supplied by the *Perfect mood* and *Narrative past*, both of which will be dealt with later. It is formed by the inseparable pronoun followed by the tense prefix "*-a-*" and this followed by the verb-stem. *Natuna, watuna, atuna, twotuna, mwotuna, batuna*.

In the 1st and 2nd persons plural, "a" > "o" in accordance with the rule that it does so after "w" preceded by a consonant.

The Perfect Mood in "-ire" or "-ere"

The perfect mood has two forms :

1. The inseparable pronoun is prefixed directly to the verb-stem which is followed by the suffix : *Utunire*.
2. The inseparable pronoun is followed by the prefix "a," then by the verb-stem, then by the suffix : *Natunire, watunire*.

The first form is practically the equivalent of a present, i.e. the effects are still continuing. The second form appears to have many of the attributes of a tense, and indeed has usurped many of the functions of the past tense proper.

The use of the two forms is well illustrated in the following expressions : *Uraye?* (from the verb *-lala*) "Are you asleep?" *Waraye?* "Have you slept?"

Not all verbs take their perfect in *-ere* or *-ire*. Monosyllabic verbs vary considerably in this respect. A few examples will illustrate this: *Okutwa*, to rain; *-oye*. *Okuba*, to be; *-aye*. *Okunywa*, to drink; *-eye*. *Okukwa*, to die; *-ule*. A few other verbs have endings apparently irregular, e.g. *Okwigwa*, to hear; *-ule*; and, as we have seen above, *okulala*, *-aye*. The reversive form in *-ula* (see page 24) has *-oye* as its perfect suffix, and the applied forms in *-era* and *-ira* have *-eye* and *-iye* respectively.

The Narrative Past

This tense is formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the tense prefix *-ka-* followed by the verb-stem. *ηkatuna, ukatuna*, etc.

Optative, Potential and Conditional Moods

The optative and potential moods are expressed in the present in the same way, viz. :

Inseparable pronoun; *-ka-*; verb-stem : *ηkakola, ukakola*, etc.

"You would or should hit that man;" *Ukamtema omuntu uyo*.

"I would if I could;" *ηkakola η ore ηkatula*.

It should be noted, however, that the "k" in *ka* is nearly voiced, and appears to approximate to a "g." (Cf. *-nga-* in Zulu corresponding to *-ka-* in Suto; *-nge-*, *-ngali-* in Swahili.)

The future Conditional is formed as follows: Inseparable pronoun—tense prefix “-la-”—verb-stem—suffix “-e:” *Ndache, ulache*, etc.
 “When or if he comes he will see,” *Hano alache, alamaha*.

But all three moods fuse into the same form in the past tense, which is: Inseparable pronoun; -ka-; verb-stem; perfect suffix; e.g.

“You should have told me that a long time ago.”

Gayo ukantebire kale.

“If I had known, I would have told you.”

ɔ ore ɣkamanyire, ɣkakutehire.

There is a separate verbal form for such an expression as, “Have you ever?” and the answer, “I have never.” It is: Inseparable pronoun—tense prefix “-a-” “-ka-” —verb-stem—suffix -ire or -ere. The adjective *olundi*, qualifying “day,” which is understood, is generally added. *Wakatunire olundi?* “Have you ever sought?” (For the negative see page 22.)

An idiomatic use of this form is in such an expression as *He wakabaye?* meaning something like, “Wherever have you been?”

The Subjunctive Mood

This mood need not detain us long. It is formed in the same way and has the same functions as in most other Bantu languages. The inseparable pronoun precedes the verb-stem and the final “-a” becomes “-e.” *Nitune, utune*, etc.

The Imperative Mood

There are three ways of giving an order.

1. The verb-stem alone: *Tuna*. I have not heard this form or any modification of it used in the Plural.
2. The subjunctive mood, 2nd persons Singular and Plural. This is the polite way of expressing the Imperative.
3. The inseparable pronoun—the particle -ta- —verb-stem—*utatuna*. The sense is emphatic and urgent, and *utagya* (-gya: “to go”) means something like, “Go away, will you! Be off with you!” The sense is emphatic, brusque.

The Negative Mood

There are two negative particles: -ta- and -te- They are infixes. There is also a negative suffix which can also be used adverbially: “*he*,”

It is always found with the negative mood except in the imperative. When used adverbially it means "not" and is found in such expressions as *uni he* : "Not I." *Hara he* : "Not there," etc.

The Negative Present

The inseparable pronoun—the negative particle—the infinitive of the verb—the negative suffix.

Ntekutuna he, utekutuna he, etc.

The above also serves as negative future, which does not exist separately.

The Negative Past

The Inseparable pronoun—negative particle—verb-stem—suffix *-ire* or *-ere*—negative suffix.

Ntatunire he, utatunire he, etc.

The Exclusive Tense

Kuria has a form which corresponds to the Swahili *Sija-*, etc., and which is made up as follows: Inseparable pronoun—negative prefix *ta-*, *la-*—verb-stem—negative suffix *he*.

Ntalatuna he, utalatuna he, etc.

I have not yet sought, etc.

The Negative Optative and Potential

Are formed by the insertion of the negative particle *-ta-* between the inseparable pronoun and the prefix *-ka-*. *Ntakatuna he*. In the past they share with the conditional the form *Ntakatunire he*. The negative of the "Have you ever?" form (see page 22) is similarly formed by infixing the negative particle *-ta-* before the prefix *-ka-* : *natakatunire olundi he*.

The Negative Imperative

This may take two forms :

1. The subjunctive of the verb *kwonga*, "to refuse," "to abstain from," followed by the infinitive : *Wange kutuna*, "Do not search ;" or
2. Inseparable pronoun—negative particle *ta*—prefix *-ka-*—verb-stem : *Utakatuna, mutakatuna*.

The Invariable particle "Nte."

Besides the negative forms given above, Kuria makes free use of a negative particle *nte*, which may be prefixed to nearly any positive tense and transforms it into a negative, with the addition of the negative suffix :

- Nte ŋkutuna he* .. "I do not seek."
Nte namanyire he .. "I do not know."
Nte ndatuna he .. "I shall not seek."

Forms still more interesting are found. Thus : "They (persons) are not within" may be translated in two ways :

1. In the ordinary way. *Batamo he*, or
2. With the use of *nte*. *Nte Bamo he*. Here again the principle is the same. The positive form is preceded by the invariable particle and followed by the negative suffix. The process is quite mechanical and may be applied to rebut an assertion such as *Chingoko ninacho* ("Chickens I have them"). *Nte chingoko unacho he*, "The chickens you have them not."

It thus appears quite clear that *nte* means "it is not that," and is formed from "*n-*" (the invariable form of the indicative present of the verb "to be") and the negative particle *te*.

The Derived Forms of the Verb

1. *The Passive* is formed by the insertion of "*w*" after the verb-stem.

Okutunwa, ndatunwa, natunilwe, etc.

In verbs ending in *-ya* (e.g. causative forms) the passive is formed by replacing the active suffix by the passive form *-bwa*, e.g.

Okuburya, "to ask ;"
Okuburibwa, "to be asked."

2. *The Neuter Passive*. Takes its ending in *-eka*, *-ika* and *-uka*. (Verb-stems containing "*-e*" or "*-o*" take *-eka*, those with "*a*," "*i*" or "*u*" take *-ika* in accordance with the Law of Vowel Harmony.)

Okutandula, "To tear."
Okutanduka, "To be torn."

3. *The Applied Form*. Ends in *-era* or *-ira*. The rule of the rolled "*-r-*," described on page 11, applies when the consonant

preceding the “-r-” of the suffix is itself an “l” or an “r,” e.g. the first form of the present indicative of the verb *okutura*, “to put,” is *ndatura* in the first person singular. The applied form would be *ndamutur-ra*, “I put for him, to him” etc.

The perfect mood of the applied form ends in *-eye* or *-iye*.

4. *The Causative Voice* is formed by the insertion of “y” before the final “a.” *Okuburya*, “to ask,” literally “to make to say.” When there is a dissyllabic suffix, as, for instance, in the perfect mood, the “y” immediately precedes the suffix, as in the verb *okusokya* (the causative of a lost verb, *okusoka*) “to finish,” “to bring to an end;” perfect mood *-Sokyire*. The causative in monosyllabic verbs is formed by *-sya*. *Kurya*, “to eat.” *Kurisyā*, “to herd” (to cause the cattle to eat.)
5. *The Reciprocal* ends in *na*. *Okugwota*, “to seize.” *Okugwotana*, “to seize one another.” The reciprocal voice is peculiar in its perfect mood which ends in *-epi*. *Bagwotepi*, “they seized one another.”
6. *The Reversive Form*. Has the suffix *-ula*. Thus, in the verb *okuhemera*, derived from the Swahili, *hema*, “a tent,” meaning “to put up a tent,” there is a reversive *kuhemula* meaning “to strike a tent.”
7. There is no intensive form proper. The meaning is conveyed by reduplicating the verb-stem.
8. *Verbs Formed from Adjectives or Adverbs*. These have a suffix *-ha*, e.g. *-kangi*, “foolish.” *Okukangiha*, “to become foolish, to be foolish.” *Bwongu*, “quickly.” *Okwonguha*, “to act quickly.”

In my survey of the verb I have made no attempt to describe those composite forms, which, as any student of Bantu languages knows, can be multiplied almost indefinitely with the aid of auxiliaries. I need only say that they exist in as great profusion in Kikuria as in other Bantu languages.

THE VERB “TO BE”

The verb “to be,” properly, is *-ba*.

Infinitive : *Okuba*.

Perfect : (1) *Nibaye*.

(2) *Nabaye*.

But it is frequently replaced by other forms.

- (I) In the present Indicative by the invariable particle *ni*, e.g. *N'uni*, "It is I" (where *ni* is contracted to "n". See below). See page 27, "*ni ligina*—"
- (II) In the present and past by the use of *-li*.
 Present Indicative : *ndi, uli*, etc.
 Past Tense : *nali, wali*.

There is, too, a perfect mood for the *-li* formation, which is formed by suffixing *-ngi*, thus :

- (a) We are seven : *Muhungati tulingi*.
 (b) We were seven : *Muhungati twolingi*.

It is somewhat difficult to know when to use the *-ba* form and when the *-li*, when, apparently, the two forms exist to express what superficially appears to be the same meaning. I incline to think that the solution is that *-ba* expresses "coming into being." Thus a workman who has been building a hut will report, when his work is finished : *Yabaye!* (It has become). But if he is asked where is it, he will answer, *Ilingi hara!* (It is over there).

To Have

This verb does not, of course, exist in itself. It is formed with the various forms of the verb "to be," and *na*.

The Indicative Pronoun

It is I, It is he, etc. are formed as follows : The *ni* form of the verb "to be," followed by the personal pronoun.

N'uni, n'uwe, n'iwe, mbaitu, mbaiju, mbo.

In the noun classes, *ni* precedes the appropriate inseparable pronoun followed by "o," e.g. :

10th Class.	<i>Nicho.</i>
7th Class.	<i>Nikyo.</i>

ADVERBS

The following are the most frequently used adverbs :

<i>Buya.</i>	Well.
<i>Kubibi.</i>	Badly.
<i>Bukoju.</i>	Very, energetically.

<i>gora.</i>	Softly, slowly.
<i>Bwongu</i>	Quickly, recently.
<i>Kale.</i>	A long time ago.
<i>Nsi.</i>	Below, down.
<i>Hansi.</i>	Underneath.
<i>Iguru.</i>	Above.
<i>Munsi.</i>	Inside.
<i>Kate.</i>	In the middle.
<i>Ipuma.</i>	Behind.
<i>Imbele.</i>	In front.
<i>Buchwe.</i>	In vain, for nothing.
<i>Busuhu.</i>	Little, in a small degree.
<i>Lero.</i>	To-day.
<i>Icho.</i>	Yesterday, to-morrow.
<i>Iga.</i>	Thus (<i>igo</i> if the matter referred to has already been mentioned).

Invariably follows the verbs "To tell" or "To say" in related speech. *Akanteby'iga*, "he told me thus." It corresponds to the *ati* of the Wajita, the *geki* of the Wasukuma; and the *nti* of the Baganda. Its functions are so well understood that the verb is often omitted.

EXAMPLE OF KURIA

Brer Rabbit	it made with	friendship	with		
<i>Ekituchu</i> ¹	<i>kyakolana</i> ²	<i>obusani</i> ³	<i>n'</i> ⁴		
Elephant	It and went	it sleeps	to	ear	
<i>Inchogu</i> ⁵	<i>kikagya</i> ⁶	<i>kilalala</i> ⁷	<i>ku</i> ⁸	<i>kutwi</i> ⁹	
its	it and went	it eats	eleusine	its	
<i>kwoyo</i> ¹⁰	<i>kikagya</i>	<i>kilalya</i> ¹¹	<i>oburi</i>	<i>bwoyo</i>	
to complete	it and put	stone	to	ear	its
<i>kusokya</i> ¹²	<i>kikatula</i> ¹³	<i>eligena</i> ¹⁴	<i>ku</i>	<i>kutwi</i>	<i>kwoyo</i>
when	Elephant	shook	ear	he and thought	
<i>hano</i> ¹⁵	<i>Inchogu</i>	<i>yasingisya</i> ¹⁶	<i>okutwi</i>	<i>akakaya</i> ¹⁷	
Brer Rabbit	it slept	in	whereas	is	stone
<i>Kituchu</i>	<i>kiraye</i> ¹⁸	<i>mo</i> ¹⁹	<i>kana</i> ²⁰	<i>ni</i> ²¹	<i>ligena</i>
he put	to	ear	when (here)	and returned	
<i>atur-re</i> ²²	<i>ku</i>	<i>kutwi</i>	<i>hano</i>	<i>kalinga</i> ²³	
he went	he sleeps	to	ear	to complete	it dawns
<i>agya</i>	<i>alalala</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kutwi</i>	<i>kusokya</i>	<i>bukukya</i> ²⁴

he him said to <i>amubur-r-a</i> ²⁵	" I dreamt " <i>Ndotire</i> ²⁶	thus <i>iga</i> ²⁷	eleusine <i>oburi</i>	your <i>bwao</i>
it was eaten." <i>buleywe.</i> " ²⁸	Elephant <i>Inchogu</i>	it and took up <i>ikaimukya</i> ²⁹	rope <i>orusiri</i> ³⁰	
to go <i>kugya</i>	to snare <i>kutega</i> ³¹	plantation <i>mugundu</i> ³²	thus <i>iga</i>	" Let me snare " <i>Ntege</i>
animal <i>intyeni</i> ³³	that <i>iyo</i> ³⁴	it eats <i>iku pera</i> ³⁵	eleusine <i>oburi</i>	mine." <i>bwone.</i> "
When (here) <i>hano</i>	it comes <i>bukuhika</i> ³⁶	night <i>obutiku</i> ³⁷	now, <i>bona</i> ³⁸	Brer Rabbit <i>Kituchu</i>
it and went <i>kikagya</i>	to eat <i>kulya</i>	eleusine <i>oburi</i>	it and got itself caught <i>kikagwotibwa</i> ³⁹	
with rope. <i>n'orusiri.</i>				

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. Brer Rabbit.
2. Reciprocal form of verb *Okukola*, to do, to make.
3. Friendship.
4. "n'," contraction of *na*, with.
5. Elephant.
6. Narrative past (see p. 21) of verb *Okugya*, to go. Prefix 7th class, agrees with *kituchu*.
7. Verb *Okulala*, to sleep, 1st form, present indicative.
8. Preposition "to."
9. Ear.
10. Possessive Pronoun (see p. 16).
11. *Okulya*, to eat.
12. Literally, "to complete." Idiomatically, "afterwards, and then."
13. *Okoutula*, to put, to place.
14. Stone.
15. *Hara* would be more usual as the action is in the past.
16. Past tense, *Okusingisya*, to shake.
17. To think, to doubt.
18. Perfect mood, *Okulala* ; see p. 21.
19. Locative *mo*.
20. When, now then, whereas.
21. See p. 26.
22. *Okulala*, Perfect Mood.

23. Narrative past. Inseparable pronoun omitted. *Okulinga*, to return.
24. To dawn.
25. Verb *Okubura*, past tense, applied form.
26. Perfect Mood *Okulota*, to dream.
27. Thus (p. 27).
28. Perfect Mood, passive voice, *Okulya*.
29. *Okuimuka*, causative form, "To lift up, to take up."
30. Rope.
31. To snare.
32. Plantation.
33. Wild animal.
34. Demonstrative Pronoun, form 2 (p. 17).
35. To eat as a relish. Present indicative, form 2, verb *Okupera*
36. To arrive, *Okuhika*.
37. Night.
38. Now.
39. Passive voice, causative form, narrative past of *Okugwota*, to seize, to catch.

FREE TRANSLATION

Brer Rabbit made friendship with the Elephant, and went and slept in the Elephant's ear; he went and ate the Elephant's eleusine and put a stone in the Elephant's ear. When the Elephant shook his ear he thought Brer Rabbit was asleep in it, when all the time it was the stone Brer Rabbit put in. When Brer Rabbit came back he went to sleep in the Elephant's ear, and at dawn he said to him, "I dreamt that your eleusine was eaten." The Elephant took a rope to set a snare in the plantation, saying, "Let me set a snare to catch the animal that is eating my eleusine."

That night Brer Rabbit went to eat the eleusine and got caught in the rope.

HENDRIK JACOB WIKAR : HIS EDITORS, TRANSLATORS AND COMMENTATORS

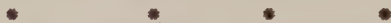
By L. F. MAINGARD

Hendrik Jacob Wikar was a Swede who came to the Cape at the end of the xviiiith century as a "soldier," for that name included all those of a subordinate rank who were in the employ of the Dutch East India Company. After spending some time in its service, he got into debt and "deserted." He seems to have at first sought refuge in what is now the Eastern Province, and subsequently he found his way to the then little known regions of the Orange River. We have no reliable information—indeed there are no more than vague allusions—on the first part of his adventures. About his wanderings on the great river and the life which he shared with the primitive tribes of that part of the country, we have, apart from hints from travellers like Patterson, more ample details from his own accounts.

The figure that emerges from these writings is that of a bluff, good-humoured man with a sensitive nature, as witness his flight from Cape Town and his creditors, and what he imagined to be the loss of his reputation. He had a capacity for gaining the confidence of the Natives with whom his lot was cast for a time. He had all the necessary requisites as an observer, and, untrained though he was as an ethnologist (indeed, there were no such things in those days), he managed, by just jotting down what he saw and experienced, to leave behind him an extraordinarily interesting picture of life among a primitive people. But to call him "the studious Wikar," as one of his commentators has done, is to transgress the allowable measure of admiration for the Swedish traveller. He most probably had only a minimum of education and all the more honour is due to him for his achievement. Fascinating as a story to the general reader, his accounts have still further value for the ethnologist and the historian, because he respected truth and had no theories to advance or to champion.

Wikar must have attained at least considerable local fame for his hair-breadth escapes, his romantic experiences, and his naiveté as a raconteur in the Cape Town of his day, for we find no less than three versions of his adventures. There was one, the plain unvarnished tale, which he presented to Governor Joachim van Plettenberg. A second one was rewritten for him by no less a person than Olof de Wet, the Landdrost of Stellen-

bosch, who evidently fell under the spell of the simple Wikar. In the same year (1779), yet another version, an abridged one, was composed for Hendrik Cloete and this manuscript had the honour of being forwarded to the Swellengrebel family in Holland. To-day these different versions have no less fame and perhaps even utility as records of events and of a culture which has almost entirely vanished.



From this very short glimpse into Wikar as a man, for in his case also "the work portrays the man," we can now pass to his work and to what his translators and commentators have done with it. It has been given to the public more than once. In 1916, Godée-Molsbergen published the first version in his *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* with a few notes which, though interesting, are not exhaustive enough in proportion to the importance of Wikar. Two years later Dr. E. Moritz printed in the *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, (Band 31, Heft 1) a translation of the de Wet version. As we should expect from a German scholar, it is very well done, and what enhances the value of the published text is the series of variants from the other versions. Here, however, the notes are negligible. In 1926 Dr. Dreyer, while in Holland, stumbled across the Cloete version which had lain buried in private archives all this time, and realising the importance of this text, gave an edition of it to *Het Zoeklicht* (Deel iv). And, last year, (1935), the Van Riebeeck Society¹ again put before the South African public the name of Wikar associated this time with two other accounts of travels. The version of Wikar which is published here is the original one (already given to us by Godée-Molsbergen), with a serviceable translation by A. W. van der Horst as well as the two smaller Dutch texts of Coetsé and Willem van Reenen, who both explored Great Namaqualand in the second half of the same century, with an English translation, this time by the editor, Dr. E. E. Mossop.

Of the translation by van der Horst, I can only say that it is "serviceable," for the English is not always of the best, and sometimes distinctly "awkward." A few samples will suffice to show what I mean. Thus, "they tell that . . . (instead of the correct "say," (p. 133); "the cattle herds took to their heels to the kraal," (p. 145); "it is the time that it ought to be empty," (p. 193.); "curiosity," (p. 149 etc.), where the only correct modern word is "curio." At times the rendering has a distinct comic effect, e.g., "a few of *those that this* is tried on die."

¹ *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar 1779* edited, with an introduction and footnotes, by Dr. E. E. Mossop. The Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town. 1935.

(p. 135), or when a man is said to "hum" like an ostrich, (p. 87), where it would be more natural to say for instance, "boom." It is unnecessary to translate "bergwerkery" by "mining in mountains" (p. 155), as the word "bergwerk" is one of those dead compounds such as exist in all languages and which means nowadays nothing more than "mining in general." On p. 170, the "contra-dance" translating the Dutch "contra-danzen," should be, in English, "country-dance." What are the "whirling cavities" on p. 133? Whether it was the translator's intention to reproduce in his English the quaint Dutch of his original, we have no means of judging. But even if that is so, the procedure is open to question.

The book comprises, besides these texts and their translations, some valuable additions in the shape of a very substantial introduction by Dr. Mossop, completed by documents on Wikar in Appendix B; and also a very thorough examination of Wikar's language by Dr. J. L. M. Franken, Professor of French in the University of Stellenbosch. He is to be heartily congratulated here on a very sound piece of scholarship. Although it seems at first sight to concern only the historians of the Afrikaans language, it is also of great interest to the readers of *Bantu Studies*. For it is often forgotten that, to ethnologists who dabble in historical texts in search of ethnographical material, a thorough understanding of the author's language is essential for the accurate interpretation of the facts they may find. Professor Franken provides us here with this indispensable instrument.

But our chief concern will be naturally directed to the other commentaries with which the volume is accompanied, i.e., the notes on the topography of the travels by Dr. Mossop, the identification of the place-names and Dr. Engelbrecht's "Tribes of Wikar." Indeed, apart from Professor Franken's philological study, they can be considered as the most important contribution to the book.

It is a valuable hobby of Dr. Mossop's to trace on the spot the actual footsteps of our old travellers and, in the present instance, he has attained results commensurate with the importance of the task. Thus, out of some two and a half dozen place-names mentioned in Wikar, nearly all have been topographically identified, some definitely, others with tolerable certainty. What, I dare say, must have been of material assistance was the discovery of Wikar's long-lost map of his wanderings. For this notable "find" we are greatly indebted to Dr. Mossop's researches. All this gives us a much clearer vision of Wikar's achievement as an explorer in that very difficult country.

This topographical identification carries with it the necessity of finding out the exact linguistic correspondence of the place-names. This has been done with a considerable measure of success, but whether this success is to be credited to Dr. Mossop or to Dr. Engelbrecht or to Dr. Vedder, of Okahandja, jointly or severally, is not clear from the Introduction. This part of the work is indeed best done when the actual meaning of the place-name is given by Wikar or survives in the present day local appellation or when some such sure indication exists, otherwise the whole thing is apt to become mere guess-work. This is apparent in the present volume, in cases where such details are lacking. For instance, our etymologist makes gallant attempts at giving us the equivalents of Wikar's *Amkams* and *Namis*. *Amkams*, we are informed, is "probably /am//gams, (last water); possibly \neq am//gams, (water thereat); and improbably !gam//gams, (deep water)," (p. 105). The etymologist of the Van Riebeeck Society might in addition have suggested, with an equal show of possibility or probability, am//gams, "mouth water," etc. Similarly *Namis*, according to a note (p. 108) is Nama *nams*, "tongue" or *namis* "four sided" why not also \neq nams, "kaross," !*nami*, "side, edge," //namis, "fight," etc? These etymologies all "hang in the air," with nothing substantial to support them and prove nothing beyond a knowledge of the language, a great deal of ingenuity and some measure of embarrassment on the part of the etymologist. Why not simply say "we don't know?"

This is the place for making a few suggestions under this heading:

1. The equivalent of *Toelykamma* or "Litteekenwater" (Wikar, p. 96) is given as either /uri//gami, "muddy or dirty water," or !uri//gami, "white water." This is unnecessary, since we are given the meaning of the word by Wikar as "litteeken" or "scarwater," which should therefore be in Hottentot /gore//gamma, where /gore(b) means an "incision" such as is made, for instance, at the initiation ceremony and the scar resulting from it.
2. *Kouns* is identified with /goub, "boiling," (p. 32). This should be /gũs, the nasal vowel corresponding to the *n* of Wikar.

Here also we may say that the identification of Hottentot words, other than place-names, is, on the whole, quite successful. I have, among others, to make the following remarks:

(i). For Wikar's Eykaro (p. 38), instead of Nama : /ai-karo, "fire-bed," I would prefer the usual Nama /aikharob, "sick bed."

(ii). In a note on p. 256, we read: "The broek-karos was the apron worn behind and called /goubis." (Mossop). /goubis should be !gu:b or !gu:s, the proper name for this article of clothing.

(iii). */gunub*, "finger" is given as the Nama equivalent for Wikar's *koeno*, "beads" (p. 77). The reason for this, if any, is not apparent.

(iv). *Samgomomkoa* the name of a Bushman tribe (p. 31) is derived from *Saan gumo*, "merely Bushmen;" this would be quite plausible, were it not for the ending *-koa(-kwa)* which makes the whole compound unwieldy and most unlikely.

(v). The Hottentots, says Wikar, "curse the sun, the wind and the rain—*ikode solep*." These last two words have caused some difficulty to the annotators and two widely divergent interpretations are the result. In the first, (p. 94, note 85), they are said to be the Nama: *i go ge soreb*, "the sun has gone down." We might have expected more vigour in a curse. The second one is that of Dr. Engelbrecht, who restores the Hottentot words into *Tko de solep* (*/o re sorep*), "die then, sun," (p. 236). This is distinctly better, and we would have accepted it. But there is no problem at all, since Wikar himself has taken the trouble to give us the actual meaning. He has it both in the present volume, where the English translation unaccountably omits it, and still more explicitly in the de Wet version (Moritz,² p. 74 a): "*Jkode solep* should mean: damn the sun." We can therefore take *ikode solep* as a faulty transcription and restore it to its genuine Nama form: */axare solep*, "damn the sun!"

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The other section of the book which claims our attention is Dr. Engelbrecht's study on the "Tribes of Wikar's Journal." In discussing these Hottentot tribes who lived on the banks of the Orange River at the end of the xviiith century, he has rightly devoted a good deal of attention to one question that will always loom large. It is that of the relationship of the *Einikoa* and the *Korana*. Were they of the same stock? Did they belong to the same group of tribes? Did they come

²Note: All the references in this review to the de Wet version, are to the German translation of Moritz, *Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, in *Mitteilungen aus den Deutsch Schutzgebieten*, 31 Band, 1 Heft, Berlin, 1918. At the time of writing, I had not had an opportunity of consulting the de Wet MS. version which is now in the Archives, Cape Town. Hence the quotations from Moritz' German translation here and elsewhere in this study. Since then, I have seen the MS. and a careful reading of it in every way confirms the interpretation offered above by me. What Moritz represents as *J* in *Jkode solep*, is in the Cape Town MS. neither clearly a *J* or an *I* or a *T*, but seems a combination of all three. It is plausible to conjecture that this cryptic symbol is meant to stand for a click. I am glad to be in agreement on this point with Dr. Engelbrecht, who also interprets this initial symbol as a click, although a different one from the one suggested by me. The actual Dutch text following *Jkode solep* in the MS. is: "dat is te zeggen verwenscht Zon."

at the same time to the country where Wikar found them? Dr. Engelbrecht is correct in saying that "others have included them" (i.e., the *Einikoa*) "in their lists of *Korana* tribes," (Cp. what I have said in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. vi, p. 162). In connection with Wikar's attitude in the matter, Dr. Engelbrecht adds: "Wikar does not commit himself to any decided opinion, possibly because he found he could not," (p. 228). I am very doubtful, on the strength of Wikar's own observations, if any critical reader will be prepared to follow Dr. Engelbrecht in his statement.

Not only does the old Swedish traveller take pains to group the tribes on the Orange River in three well-defined divisions: (i) the *Einikoa*, (ii) the *Geisikoa* and (iii) the *Korana*, in a carefully considered list based on his own findings and included in the de Wet version, but he alludes several times to this fundamental division in his text.

He has, further, something quite decisive. He tells us, in his remarks on these self-same *Korana*, that they "for the greater part resemble the *Eynikkoo* in build and dress, but they are an entirely different tribe, for they know little of the tribes below," "gelykenen van posituur en dragt meestendendeels na de Eynikkoo, maar zijn tog een heel andere natie, want zy wisten van de onderste naties weynig af," (pp. 164-165). After this very clear-cut pronouncement of Wikar's, we may add that our own researches and discovery of old documents lead us to a very different conception of the early history and place of origin of the *Einikoa* from that presented here. But an exposition of these facts would take us far beyond the scope of this short article and will be reserved for further treatment at a later date.

There is a further point, in connection with the *Einikoa*, where Dr. Engelbrecht's ingenuity will, I am afraid, leave most thinking people unconvinced. He says: "The collective name of *Eynicqua* . . . has survived to this day, and there is still an occasional Kora who has vague reminiscences of the /'ei /neina or /'ei /'ēina," (p. 225) and we are told a little further on (p. 227) that "the Boekvolk are even to-day known as the /'ei /neina." Should we be asked to believe that the very shadowy "Boekvolk" of Dr. Engelbrecht are identical with the xviiith century "Riverfolk" of Wikar? Wikar unequivocally calls the *Einikoa* "Riverfolk" and every time he is careful to give the exact Dutch equivalents of the tribal names he uses, e.g. *Namnykoa* or "Krosdragers;" *Kaukoa* or "Snyervolk;" *Aukokoa* or "Naauwwege." Why should there be an exception in the case of the *Einikoa*? Dr. Engelbrecht cannot have it both ways.

It is much more reasonable to believe that Wikar as well as his informants knew what they were talking about and that he was doing what all the travellers, from the time of van der Stel downwards, had done, that is using as an appellation for the Orange River, the "River" of these desert parts, the word *Eyn* or *Ein* (cp. van der Stel's Journal: the River called by us *Vigiti Magna* and by them *Eyn*, Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid Afrika*, I. p. 191). Hence the *Ein-ikwa* or "Riverfolk" and not the "Boekvolk."

Having recognised the true nature of the first portion in the name of that particular tribe of Hottentots, I would suggest that it is the same as *ēib*, a phonetic variant of *aib* "liver," which to an untrained European ear would sound as *eim* or *ein*, as it actually did to Wreede in his word-list: *qu'ein* "liver." This word is also found as the first element in at least two well-known place-names in Great Namaqualand, viz. *aikhoās*, (Warmbad district) and *ai!ab*, the "Liver River," (Gibeon district), which in the second case is also the name of a river and is mentioned in van Reenen's Journal in the same form as our *Eyn*, namely *Eyn* × *aap* (p. 308). Thus the linguistic equation would be *Eynikoa* = *ēin* // *eikwa*, it being a common thing for an *η* to develop between a nasal and a succeeding click, (cp. *Bantu Studies*, Vol. vi, p. 150). This solution has the further advantage of doing away with the "archaic" form // *neina* of Dr. Engelbrecht, about which I am frankly sceptical.

Nor can we be expected to accept lightly the discovery of three new tribes by Dr. Engelbrecht. "These people" (i.e. the *Geysikoa*), we read in the "Tribes of Wikar's Journal," "are not to be confused with the Gyzioqua (i.e. *Gesiokwa*) who, together with the Cyniequas and Corarquas, are stated by Wikar to have been pure Bantu." (p. 222). Let us examine the facts. Wikar's text as reproduced in the present volume (p. 150) reads "N.B. De Eynicquas, Corarquas en Gyzioquas. Bliquoas is de regte naam deezer . . ." I do not think for a moment that we can place on these words the interpretation of Dr. Engelbrecht. There is no question in my mind that the names of the three tribes in the note just quoted are either orthographical variants, misspellings or misreadings of the names of the same three ethnic groups we have already heard so much about.

Wikar's spelling in these matters hesitates a good deal. Thus, he has in our version of the text: *Korakkoa*, *Koracqua* and in the de Wet version *Coracqua* and *Koracqua*; *Gysikoa*, *Gysicqua* in our version and *Geisicqua* and *Gysicqua* in the de Wet version. I believe that in the note quoted above for *Corarquas* we should read *Coracqua* and for

Gyzioqua we should read *Gysicqua*, an *r* having by some mistake been substituted for a *c* in the first instance and an *o* for a *c* in the second instance. Further the word "deezer" ("the right name for these") applies only to the *Gyzicqua*, who, we have been told, are *Blicquas*, i.e., Bantu, and not to the two other tribes. What clinches the matter is the fact that the corresponding passage in the de Wet version reads as follows (Moritz, p. 85 b): "Auch die *Geysicquas*, sowie die *Koracquas* und die *Eynicquas*, haben viel mit ihren Zauberern zu schaffen, . . ." Here, it will be seen, the names of the tribes are embodied in the text and the correct forms are given.³

After these few remarks, I must commend the great industry and indefatigable energy of Dr. Engelbrecht in going out into the field to check his own theories and to gather new facts about the Korana. It is refreshing to come across someone who takes an interest in that small ethnic group which means so much for science and which it is imperative to study now, before its vanishing remnants disappear. Dr. Engelbrecht has certainly added much to our knowledge of these people in his past work as well as in the present volume.

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When one has completed the reading of the book, one is left with an impression that a few useful, or even indispensable things are missing. One of these is a thorough commentary on the ethnological aspect of Wikar's Journal. There are, indeed, a page or two of remarks for the general reader. Considering, however, the great wealth of material placed in our hands by Wikar, a fuller study for the specialist could have been expected. The text was there and we cannot help regretting very sincerely that this great opportunity was not used by the editors. In fact, even the general reader, I am sure, would have welcomed expert guidance in trying to gauge the full significance of all the information that lies before him.

Another important point which has been left uncommented upon is the language in which the Hottentot words scattered through Wikar are couched. When we remember that he is often quoted as an authority on Korana customs, we might feel entitled to some enlightenment from him on the language of the Korana. Yet he does not seem to have recorded a single sentence or word which properly belongs to this

³ In the de Wet MS. version in the Cape Town Archives, these tribal names in the context referred to, are respectively *Gysicqua*, *Koracqua* and *Eynicqua* (the *c* in the last word looking more like an *e*)—spellings which lend strong support to the opinion expressed above by me.

dialect of Hottentot. This will become abundantly clear, when the significant Hottentot words are examined.

(a) Korana possesses that difficult sound complex, the velar ejective affricate, *kx'*, which had been described as a "strong croaking sound, deep in the throat" or has even been likened by some to the death-rattle. Nama has lost it. Thus we have on p. 83: "When a Hottentot courts a woman in marriage, he *ouas* or looks for her," where we have the Nama *oã*, "to look for," corresponding to Korana *kx'oã*. Similarly Wikar's *teyaap* (p. 41) = Nama: *dei-ab*, "milk drinker," *a* being the Nama for "to drink" as against Korana *kx'a*. Again in the place-name *Eyas* (p. 55), Nama: *ei-as*, "first hole," where *ei*, "first" corresponds to Korana: *kx'ei*. See also what has been said about *Einikwa*, where the first element is *eib*, "liver," which in Korana is *kx'eib*.

(b) *Ts*- in Nama corresponds to *th*- in Korana, e.g. Nama: *tsabis*, the black ebony tree, to be found in Wikar's *Zabiesis* River (p. 34), *z* representing *ts* here.

(c) In the Nama vocabulary there are some words which are quite different from Korana such as *tanas*, "head," Korana: *bilāb*. The Nama form is found in Nawaptanap (p. 120). Again the first element in *dei-ab*, just quoted, *deib*, is the Nama form for "milk," whereas Korana has *bib*, "milk." In the tribal name */Gesikwa* (Wikar's *Geysikoa*), */ge* is the Nama root for "twin," whilst Korana uses the word *horena* for "twin."

From these characteristic words, it is legitimate to conclude that the form of Hottentot chronicled by Wikar is Nama, not Korana. This conclusion raises a number of interesting questions. We shall here refer only to one or two of them.

Did Wikar know the Hottentot language? He does not directly answer the question. His travelling party consisted of 13 adults and two children, belonging to the Little Namaqua. In the company there were two men and one woman who had acquired Dutch in the colony, and he adds that "that was sufficient for his intercourse with them." (Moritz, p. 62 b). So, if we read between the lines, it seems clear that Wikar had to depend on these people for interpretation or in some measure in collecting his information. It is now easy to understand why the words recorded by him belong to the Nama dialect. The essential differences between Nama and Korana mentioned above could not have struck him and therefore the Korana dialect is absent from his writings.

A good deal of the ritual and many of the customs in the Journal have a distinct Nama flavour, for there are divergencies in these matters between the two groups. Did Wikar's ignorance of the language place him at a disadvantage, especially in these things where he had no opportunity of direct observation? All of us who have worked in the field know the disabilities under which workers ignorant of the language labour. We can implicitly trust Wikar when he records his own observations. Can we do so equally in all other cases? These and other queries of a similar nature must be answered before we can appraise the information contained in the Journal at its true scientific value.

* * * *

Of all the publications devoted to Wikar which we have passed under review, the first three are more in the nature of raw material awaiting further elaboration, although we must not overlook the charm and value of Wikar's narrative.

Last year's volume gives us considerably more and is easily the most important of them all. Its English translation makes Wikar accessible to a wider public. The notable topographical work it contains increases not only our indebtedness to Dr. Mossop, but also our appreciation of Wikar's extraordinary wanderings. Nor should we forget to stress the very fine example of team-work which the volume gives. These and other pleasing features will commend the book to many classes of readers. It is true, as has been shown, that one might have had a different conception of the subject in some respects and one might have liked some things to have been said in a different way, but all this does not alter the fact of the substantial contribution made to our knowledge in many directions. This volume will remain as a useful companion to any one interested in the old-world customs and life of the Korana and the Van Riebeeck Society is to be congratulated on having at last found a place, in its gallery of great South African travellers, for one who is not unworthy of figuring in the noble company.

A FEW NOTES ON THE PHONETIC ASPECT OF CLICKS AND THE RELATIONSHIP THEREOF TO CERTAIN OTHER CLASSES OF SPEECH-SOUNDS

By P. DE V. PIENAAR

In another section of this number a review appears of a book by Dr. Roman Stopa : *Die Schnalze*, in which the author attempts an exhaustive treatment of the romantic click sounds from (a) the phonetic, (b) the linguistic (historical and developmental) and (c) the speech-philosophical aspect. The reading of this work prompted me to set out briefly a few ideas I have on the click question, looked at from the purely phonetic aspect. Although these views may no doubt correspond in part to those found in Dr. Stopa's book, I felt that the phonetic aspect of the click question required a separate treatment.

The science of phonetics proposes to study the phonation (voice and speech-sounds), of a normal human individual in the present, irrespective of the geographical distribution of the speakers.¹ After the analysis of the speech-sounds, the results have to be classified and described ; a condition being that speech-sounds should not be studied apart from the groups in which they occur. It follows from the aforesaid that the study of the phonetic phenomena of a living language, presupposes a careful investigation, by persons trained in the methods of speech-sound study, of the speech of the people in whose mother-tongue these sounds are actually found. Furthermore, must your investigator have a thorough knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the organs of speech, must he have a trained ear, and in addition must he be acquainted with the inorganic means of research, so as to be able to interpret correctly the results obtained by such means.

Investigators into the nature of the click sounds can be divided roughly into two groups : (a) those well versed in the methods of phonetic research like Dempwolff, Doke, Meinhof, Maingard, Panconcelli-Calzia, to name but a few, and (b) those not as well equipped, as for instance Wuras, Planert, Bleek, Vedder and others, who mainly relied on their knowledge of the click-using languages and the ear. I have gratefully made use of some of their results in my present treatment.

Before venturing a few remarks on the phonetic analysis of a few different classes of speech-sounds, I shall try to set out briefly the position

of the clicks and, according to Dr. Stopa, kindred speech-sounds in a scheme of consonant classification.

Speech-sounds are formed: (a) by the action of the breathing apparatus, which supplies the source of energy; (b) by the action of the vocal lips which mainly supply the voicing and (c) by the resonance-chamber above these vocal folds, which does the modelling or shaping of speech-sounds to result in different qualities of sound.² For most speech-sounds we have a co-ordinated movement of two or three of the functionaries, for others only the resonance chamber above the larynx may function.

A classification of speech-sounds may be made as to the place and the "manner" of articulation. As regards the first, the speech-organs may approach one another in one place or in more than one place. A single approach may be bilabial, labiodental, palatal, velar, etc.; a double approach bilabial-palatal, bilabial-velar, retroflex-velar, etc. According to the "manner" of articulation, speech-sounds may be classified under two main headings: (a) those sounds dependent on the breath-movement and (b) those independent of the breath-movement to or from the lungs. The first class may be either in-spirated or ex-spirated, according to the direction, or potential direction of the breath-movement. Furthermore spirates are classified into the groups: (i) open sounds (vowels), in the production of which the breath has a free passage through the speech-organs; (ii) narrow sounds, in the formation of which the breath is audibly constricted; and (iii) closure sounds, where the breath is completely shut off for a brief space of time. The last two classes are traditionally known as consonants.

Speech-sounds independent of the breath-movement must have two approach positions of the articulating organs, since, (i) the breath must be stopped from interfering with the formation of the speech-sound and (ii) there are only two possibilities for audible production of a speech-sound with no driving power from the lungs, viz.: (a) a noise caused when compressed *air* is released, and (b) a noise caused when there is a quick release to a cavity in which the *air* has been rarified by some means or other.

A further classification of the so-called consonants is according to the acoustic result of the release. Closure sounds, which are spirates, may be released with a plosive noise. Narrow spirates may be released with a "trill," or a friction noise, or may be frictionless continuants with audible narrowing, or finally may be consonantal vowels, which are really vowel glides with audible narrowing.

Looking at those speech-sounds independent of the breath-movement, the acoustic result may be one of ejected plosion or friction, where a compression of the air has taken place previously; or where rarefaction of the air precedes the release, we can distinguish (i) an injected plosion noise (different from an inspired plosion noise), and (ii) a suction release noise, commonly known as a click noise.

Each of these acoustic releases may take place (where possible)* (i) medially, i.e. at the centre of the approaching articulating organs, (ii) laterally, i.e. at the side of the approaching articulating organs and (iii) nasally, i.e. released through the nose. Thus we may have plosives, fricatives, etc., with these different types of release.

Finally each of the positional types of speech-sounds found in the above named different classes, may have different degrees of voicing, ranging from fully voiced to completely voiceless.

This, very briefly, gives a survey of the classification of the consonant sounds, showing where the clicks and other classes of speech-sounds, which we are discussing further down, fit in.

In dealing of the following classes more fully, I am not assuming that there exists either phonetically or phonologically any relationship between these classes, as is suggested in Dr. Stopa's work on the clicks,³ but, since in many works we find diversity of opinion as to the actual formation of these sounds, my own views, founded on practical investigation, and not necessarily in disagreement with the views of other authors, are here-with set forth.

a. *The injectives (Doke's implosives)*†

In the production of these speech-sounds the rima glottidis must be closed. The velum closes the passage to the nose, and somewhere in the oral cavity, (according to the positional type of the speech-sound), there is a complete closure, preventing any air from escaping or entering the closed-in cavity, either from the lungs or from outside. Now a rare-

* With the clicks there can of course be no nasal release, because the click is formed between a velar and a more forward closure. Also since there are no vibrating organs in the nasal cavity, a nasal "trill" is not encountered. I have not dealt here with the force of the release, which in Zulu, at any rate, plays a very important part in distinguishing between sounds.

† I am using this term, also found in Dr. Stopa's book, instead of "implosives," because it is possible to have a plosive inspired sound, which may be called an "implosive" sound in distinction to the explosives, which are ex-spirated sounds.

faction, due to a widening of the cavity above the larynx by muscular action, results, e.g. the root of the tongue moves forward horizontally, the velum is drawn up as far as possible, the pharynx distended. In some cases the whole larynx moves downwards, although this is not absolutely necessary,⁴ for in some cases which I have examined, the vertical movement of the larynx, is very slight indeed.

The statement made above, viz. that the rima glottidis must be closed for this sound, has led to the erroneous assumption⁵ that the stop (occlusion) of these sounds must necessarily be voiceless. As a matter of fact, in most of the cases of the occurrence of this sound in Zulu and Xhosa I have examined, the sound shows a fully and pronouncedly voiced stop, as the kymograph tracing proves (fig. 1).

The explanation offered for this rather contradictory statement is as follows: due to the concentrated muscular action for increasing the volume of the supra-laryngeal cavities, the muscular closure of the glottis is less firm, with the result that the *breath* from the infra-laryngeal organs, forces its way through the vocal folds, which are taut, with the result that we have audible voicing. I have, however, with one subject (Xhosa) obtained a partially voiced injective. A completely voiceless variety is however quite possible with concentration on the firm closure of the glottis.

From the explanation given above, it seems to me therefore incorrect to assume that the front release takes place with the expiration playing a small part, and that the "suction closure" of the larynx is released by the expiration of the breath.⁶ On the kymograph this is disproved, for when the front release takes place, there is an inrush of air into the vacuum, with a resultant negative movement of the stylo (cf. fig. 1).

It must be noted that although breath forces its way through the vocal lips, setting them in vibration, not enough of this breath comes through to restore equilibrium, and when the front release occurs, due to muscular action, *air* rushes into this rarified cavity; only after the front release, the next sound, (which is usually a vowel), is formed by vibrating vocal folds and a differently shaped resonance-chamber.

Selmer, who had as his subject for research-purposes, the *Swedish* missionary Blessing Dahle, calls the Zulu *ɸ* an inspired affricate or a fricative.⁷ My Zulu subjects, one and all, as the kymograph tracing shows (fig. 1), pronounce this as a closure sound with marked voicing, although intervocalically the injection is not as marked as when this sound appears in "Anlaut" position. In not one case was a fricative or

an affricate encountered, my findings agreeing with Calzia's in this respect.

The injective *ɓ* in Zulu must not be confused with the bilabial sound in *ibala*, which Selmer writes as *b*.⁸ This is definitely an exspirated sound, with (according to my figures) a degree of voicing of less than 5, the voicing occurring in the beginning of the sound. A glottal closure was not encountered in my investigations (cf. fig. 2). Zulu *ph* (as in *upha:phe*), and *b* as in (*ba:mba*) are exspirated sounds, *p'* in *p'eu:la* is ejective and thus these can have no connection with the injectives.⁸

(b) *Ejectives**

For these speech-sounds, also independent of the breath-movement, there is a necessary closure of the glottis and nasal passage and some other closure in the oral cavity.† The elastic *air* between these three extremes of closure is compressed by muscular action in the tongue and pharynx. The closures are made with much greater energy than is required for the closure-spirates, and it is possible that the larynx be raised in different degrees, due to a general contraction in the pharyngeal region. On the release of the front closure, which takes place before the back release, the compressed *air* is jerked out. With the vocal lips, in the chest register, vibrating from the horizontal position of the closed glottis upwards, and back to the horizontal position, we find here, as against the injectives, a firm glottal closure, (also due to a general contraction of the muscles in the larynx-pharynx region), with the result that the ejectives are all voiceless.

In addition to the plosive type ejectives and the fricative ejectives mentioned before, ejected compounds are found of plosives followed by the homorganic fricatives, in which the compression is already formed with the plosives, but on the release, with the air rushing out, the corresponding fricative is heard. One has to be careful in seeking to find a relationship between the "pressed" sounds (*emphatische Laute*) found in the Hamito-Semitic languages and the ejectives.⁹ When the ejective occurs in "Anlaut" position in a word, the "ejection" is very pronounced, and jerks up the stylo of the mouth-tambour much more markedly than the unaspirated voiceless plosive spirate does (cf. figs. 3 & 4). There is no question of the epiglottis folding over the larynx in the Zulu ejective, as occurs with the "Emphaticae" or pressed consonants,¹⁰

* A term first used by Prof. C. M. Doke. Cf. *Zulu Phonetics* p. 46.

† It is possible to have in the oral cavity only a narrowing, but then, due to muscular action, the air in the oral and pharyngeal cavities is compressed so quickly, that an ejective fricative results.

and I doubt whether any investigation has been made to determine how either the Nama, Koranna or different Bushman ejectives are pronounced with reference to pharyngeal movement. Also, judging from the acoustic result of the release, and comparing kymograph tracings, there seems to be no relationship between the emphasized ejective, a sound independent of the breath-movement, with sharp quick outrush of the breath and characteristic plosion noise, and on the other hand the pressed sounds,¹¹ which are dependent on breath-movement, have very suppressed outrush of breath, and a muffled acoustic result. due to the epiglottis moving over the larynx. Although Prof. Doke states that in the actual flow of speech the ejectives are scarcely perceptible as such, yet they are acoustically clearly distinguishable from the aspirated voiceless plosives and the partially voiced plosives.¹²

(c) *Inspired speech-sounds*

As is the case with the commonly used expired speech-sounds, these sounds are dependent on the breath-movement. For narrow speech-sounds it is quite easy to understand how the sound is formed on inspiration. What actually happens in the case of the closure sounds, is that the interthoracic cavity is increased in volume by a movement down of the diaphragm and a lateral and anterior-posterior movement of the ribs, with the result that the lungs swell out, due to a diminution of the pressure in the interthoracic cavity. If the velum closes the passage to the nose and there is an additional closure in the oral cavity, the result of this act of inspiration will result in a rarefaction of the air in the whole space, reaching from the inside of the lungs to the closure at the oral region. On a release of this closure, there is a plosive noise, caused by the obstructed air rushing into the lungs. This front release, I hold, as well as the release for all plosive type sounds, whether dependent or independent of the breath, is not a passive one, but is directed from the motor speech centre of the brain.¹³

Inspired sounds may be voiced, but due to the structure and the movement of the vocal folds in voicing, this inspired type of voicing with the adult is very defective. Negus says: "man can with practice, speak on inspiration . . . ; some difficulty is experienced at first . . . The action (of sobbing, which is done on inspiration) must be easier for an infant than for an adult because of the relative shortness of the inferior folds,"¹⁴ showing the difficulty of inspired speech which is natural to birds, cows, etc.

Any connection, except for the direction of the breath-stream in the one case and the air in the other, between clicks and inspired speech-

sounds is difficult to see,¹⁵ as any release of the click-forming closures was certainly not primarily due to inspiration. Dr. Stopa in his work on the clicks pleads for such a relationship: (p. 33) "Damit wird nicht abgelehnt, dass die beiden Lautarten eine ziemlich nahe, vielleicht genetische Verwandschaft aufweisen, und zwar in dem Sinne dass die Inspirationslaute in den entferntesten Entwicklungsphasen der menschlichen Sprache, (vielleicht in der Sprache eines Affenmenschen) eine Grundlage zur Entstehung der Injectiven gebildet hatten."

Speech-sounds, which are not formed by rarefaction or compression of the air in enclosed cavities, must, to have any acoustic quality, be formed either with ex-sppiration or inspiration of the breath, and when Prof. Doke¹⁶ calls the flapped-lateral a sound which is neither implosive nor explosive, he meant that it is not a closure sound, but not that it is formed without any breath-movement.¹⁷ The flapped lateral consonants and the lateral plosives are all ex-spirated sounds and acoustically sound very different from clicks.¹⁸

d. *Labio-Velar sounds*

Labio-velar sounds, as well as other velarized plosives, I regard as compounds in the same way as I regard affricates and the nasal combinations of Bantu languages. Phonetically we have to do with two different speech-sounds, which are pronounced practically simultaneously, but phonologically they are regarded by the speakers of the language as one.

These velarized plosives consist of a velar stop and some other forward stop, according to the positional type of the forward sounds. The two stops take place simultaneously. It must be noted however, that although it is possible to release both closures simultaneously by control from the motor speech centre of the brain, yet with ex-spirated sounds, the acoustic resultant of the front release would be nil, if the velar closure were not released slightly in advance of the front (cf. fig. 5). Except when these compounds are ejectives, I find no "Wurf-bewegung" with these sounds.¹⁹

In his *Comparative Phonetics of the Shona Dialects* Prof. Doke describes this phonetic phenomenon extensively. It appears that with these dialects the velar element is an evolution from the consonantal vowel *w*, and the intermediate stages of development over a fricative velar sound to a plosive one are clearly represented. In Ndaue the author found what he terms (p. 161) an implosive variety of this sound. This appears to correspond to the nasalized bilabial click, which has thus *developed* from an ex-spirated combination *mw*, and not the other way about.

These velarized sounds may of course also be voiced. An interesting phenomenon Westermann and Ward record,²⁰ namely that the velar element is to the Efik speakers more important than the forward one, and that this velar sound may weaken to *x*, thus the opposite of what is encountered in Shona.

c. *Suction-sounds or clicks*

Clicks, like the injectives and the ejectives, have been proved to be independent of the breath-movement,²¹ and therefore must be double approach sounds. The back closure is always velar, the front closure determining the positional type of the click. Between the two places of closure a rarefaction of the air is brought about mainly by muscular action of the tongue. On the release of the front closure, which, like for the plosives, is subject to motor control from the brain, a suction release noise is heard. The click really is a type of injected sound, with a distinct and characteristic acoustic quality.

Because of their being formed purely in the oral cavity, these clicks permit of simultaneous accompaniment by speech-sounds formed on or behind the velum. We have the following possibilities :

a. When the click is followed by a vowel, there must be a release of the velar closure which may be simultaneous or nearly so with the front release. The result is that a *k*, which is scarcely audible, immediately follows or accompanies the click noise, which can be clearly seen (fig. 6) in the quick return of the stylo of the kymograph to normal from the negative position, and its jerking up above the normal, as for the other plosive sounds, which is not the case if the click is final* (fig. 7).

b. When the glottis is closed simultaneously or before the front release of the click occurs, it follows that no breath comes through to the velar closure, which release may take place silently. This happens when a vowel with hard beginning (i.e. preceded by a glottal stop) follows the click (fig. 8).

c. When in (b), due to muscular action, a compression of the air takes place behind the velar closure, and ejective velar plosive or affricate may follow the click (fig. 9).

d. When in (b) a rarefaction of the air occurs behind the velar closure, due to muscular action, an injective velar plosive or affricate may

*This view differs slightly from that expressed by Prof. Doke in his *Zulu Phonetics*, (chap. XI) an excellent treatment of the Zulu clicks, where he holds that the click is incomplete if only the front closure is released. However, compare with this his definition of a click in *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* (1935).

follow the click. This is a possibility, but requires a great amount of muscular control, since the two cavities with rarefaction in each, will occur side by side, a most difficult combination, and I certainly would hesitate to subscribe to Meriggi's conjecture of the occurrence of an *injective g* after a Bushman click.²²

Dr. Stopa holds the view (p. 29) that the so-called guttural click, which is to-day really the ejective velar affricate,* may have been an injective sound in its earlier stages. Apart from the opposite direction of the release, the one outwards due to compression, the other inwards due to rarefaction, such a voiceless velar injective will have in any human tongue very little sonority or carrying power and will not suit the purpose of language.

e. There is a further possibility of the vocal lips being set in vibration during the stop of the click, so that in the short space of time of the stop and with the velum closing the passage to the nose, the occlusion of a voiced velar plosive-spirate *g* is heard. This is not Prof. Doke's voiced click,²³ cf. figs. (10), and 10 (a).

f. With regard to (e) the velum may leave the passage to the nose open, so that this voicing of (e) escapes through the nasal passages, causing a velar nasal frictionless-continuant to be heard, accompanying the click. This is Prof. Doke's nasal click,²⁴ cf. fig. (11).

g. In connection with (a) there is the possibility that the velar plosive following the click be pronounced with aspiration, (i.e. with an aspirated ending), resulting in Prof. Doke's aspirated click,²⁵ cf. fig. (12).

Since the clicks were very foreign and rare sounds to the first investigators, it follows that their descriptions of the speech-sounds do not always tally and cannot be relied on implicitly.†

The following positional types present themselves for discussion :

(i) The *bilabial* click (kiss click), found occasionally in Bushman.

(ii) *Labio-dental* click?²⁶ Unless the upper teeth close well-over the lower lip, such a sound cannot be made. According to the description given by Wuras (to produce the labial click the tongue moves very quickly,

* Acoustically this combination is vastly different from a click, but to anyone, to whom both clicks and ejective velar affricate combinations are foreign, the tendency will be to call the latter clicks, for want of a better knowledge of sound formation, not because of any acoustic similarity.

† Dr. Stopa in his book *Die Schnalze*, speaks of two clicks (p.V.) "dessen Artikulationstelle nicht zu ermitteln ist." Compare also the descriptions of the clicks by Wuras.

like that of a performer on a flute), it seems rather a labio-lingual type, but for want of better information, one has to question the existence of this variety.

(iii) *Interdental click*, found in Koranna and pronounced with the tongue tip just protruding beyond the upper front teeth, the blade touching the gums. The release which is rather soft and prolonged is backward, although Prof. Doke encountered a forward-release dental click in Bushman²⁸, which may be a variant of either this or the following type.

(iv) *Post-dental click*, found in Zulu, formed with "the tongue-tip placed lightly against the upper front teeth and gums, forming a rarefaction between the middle of the tongue and the palate,"²⁹ and differing from (c) acoustically in having a sharper release.

(v) *Alveolar click*, found in Koranna, formed with the blade of the tongue against the teeth ridge.

(vi) *Alveolar-palatalized click* (the tongue-smack of babies when they see food, found in Bushman,³⁰ and formed with the blade touching the alveolar ridge and the front of the tongue touching the front of the hard palate. The tongue is rather broad and flattened.

(vii) The *pre-palatal* or *palato-alveolar click*, which is found in Zulu and Bushman is definitely not a retroflex sound (*zerebrale Schnalzlaut*), but is formed with the blade and tip of the tongue touching against the prepalatal-division of the hard palate, the front of the tongue lying in a depression between the front and back closures, and the release taking place by drawing the blade and tip backwards and downwards, resembling acoustically the pop of a suddenly uncorked bottle.³¹

(viii) The true *retroflex click*, found in Bushman, which ought not to be called a velar-lateral sound, is formed by the underside of the tip of the tongue curling back to touch the hard palate and being released backwards with a scraping sound.³²

Note that all the above clicks naturally have the velar closure, and the side edges of the tongue closing against the gums of the upper molars, etc., completely shutting off the air between velum and front closure.

(ix) The above clicks are all released medial orally, whereas the post-dental or the alveolar or the pre-palatal click may have its release taking place *laterally*, i.e. over either side of the tongue.

Whether there exists a labialized form of this click, I cannot say, and perhaps other types remain to be discovered.

Due to a lack of reliable material the question of the connection between clicks and accent (stress and tonal) will not be discussed. We close with these few notes and leave the speculation as to the relationship between the clicks in the language of the child to those of the click-using peoples; the development of the clicks from the language of the apes to that of human beings; the question of the primitivity of the click-using peoples; the connection between the click sounds and other speech-sounds in unrelated languages; the connection between sound and sense in the click-using languages, to those speech-“philosophers,” and speculators in linguistics, who have a more fertile imagination, than a poor fact-seeking phonetician.

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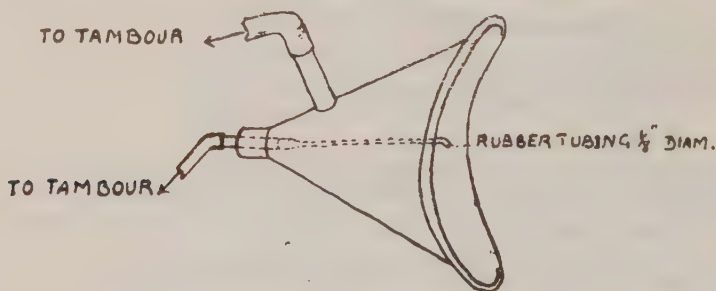
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24. Idem, p. 134.
25. Idem, p. 134.
26. R. Stopa, *Die Schnalze*, p. 26.
28. C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. II, p. 164.
29. C. M. Doke, *Zulu Phonetics*, p. 127.
30. C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. II, p. 146, where it is called an alveolar click, but the figure gives the correct formation.
31. C. M. Doke, *Zulu Phonetics*, p. 129.
32. C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. II, p. 148.

A FEW REMARKS ON THE KYMOGRAPH TRACINGS

Tracings marked V were kindly done by Mr. B. W. Vilakazi, a pure Zulu speaker and language-assistant in the Department of Bantu Studies, Witwatersrand University; those marked P are by the writer of this article.

Tracings (1)b, (1)c and (5), were done with a specially designed mouthpiece of which a sketch is given below :



APPARATUS FOR SIMULTANEOUS INTRA AND EXTRA-ORAL RECORDING.

Fig. 1. The *b* is fully voiced with the typical curve for a plosive injective, as is also given in 1(a). The compound *mb* is also fully voiced,

but the tone is very low and breath-force weak, so that vibrations in L.T. are hardly visible with the naked eye. As a matter of fact in some tracings the result in this particular sound-group *ujaba:mba*, was a whisper. Figs. 1(b) and 1(c) taken inside and outside the lips, when the injective was formed, give rather useful information as to the articulation of this sound. In 1(c) the *b* in *ugubo:na* is usually regarded as from A to C in both tracings. From this tracing it will be seen that inside the mouth there is an instantaneous and quick rarefaction, resulting in a sharp drop of the stylo to B, where the release takes place. The mouth tracing outside lips shows a falling stylo, whilst inside lips the curve rises. The reason for this is that between B and D in [M.I.] the curve is still below normal, signifying a rarefaction in the mouth-pharynx cavity, the result being a fall of the stylo from B to D in [M.O.] tracing. Only after equilibrium has been restored by the release of the labial closure, with the consequent in-rush of air from outside and the breath coming through the vibrating vocal folds, does the stylo return to normal, as is clear from tracing DC in [M.O.]. This takes place slower than for the click, because the cavity (oral-pharynx) is larger and there is no aid from a quick outrush of breath coming from the lungs. DC in [M.I] represents momentum of stylo. Thus correctly speaking the "implosive" or plosive injective ends at D in 1c. The test-tracing of the voiceless plosive injective proves the same thing.

Fig. 2. Both the *b* of *iba:la* and the *g* of *iga:ma* have a $\pi=0$ in the tracings of subject [V], whereas the *g* in *ugugu:la* has a $\pi=2$, $\tau=0 \Rightarrow 2$. In tracings by another Zulu subject, the π was from 4 to 5, most of the voicing occurring in the closure and the stop (cf. 2 ex.)

Compare the release of these plosives with that of the *p* in fig. 4. The force of release seems to play an important part as a distinguishing factor between sounds. Whereas the *b*, *d* (*ida:da*), *g* are voiceless sounds, yet they have a fairly weak release, as for the ordinary voiced exspirated plosive sounds,—[the *p* in fig. 4 corresponds to the Afrikaans sound in 'pad']. This may be the reason why it has been called voiced by English writers, who use a stronger aspirated form of voiceless plosive in their language. Note also that the *g* of *ugu* (*uku* in the current orthography) is fully voiced ($\pi=10$), but this sound in all my tracings has hardly any breath force at all coming immediately after the release. This also seems to be the case with the *b* and *d* in the nasal compounds: [Cf. however 3(b) *g* in *phi:ga* for release].

Figs. 3 and 4. They are test tracings by subject *P*. In *ipi* as in *iga:ma*, voicing occurs during the closure, (implosion) $\pi=1.5$, and

immediately after the release of the stop. In *ip'i* the stylo jerks up sharply, drops right down, due to weight and continued glottal closure after release. Note a $\pi=2.7$ in closure and stop. This compares very well with the actual sound in *ujap'eu:la* (3a), which has a $\pi=3.9$, $\tau=0 \Rightarrow 3.9$, other features being practically equal. For purposes of comparison the tracing (3b) of *ujaphi:ga* is given, to show the marked aspiration and force of release. Note that including the aspiration in the speech-sound, it has a $\pi=2$, $\tau=0 \Rightarrow 2$.

Fig. 5. The tracing of *akpa* was made with tambours recording both the movement outside the lips and the movement inside the mouth, the subject trying his best to pronounce *kp* as one sound. In the tracing at B both closures occurred simultaneously at the velum and the lips. At A the release takes place first at the velum, but the mouth-tracing, outside, still shows straight line. Immediately afterwards the breath coming into the oral cavity releases closure at the lips at C.

Figs. 6 and 7. Test tracings of (6) *iz(k)i* (back release practically simultaneous with front one), *pi?* (7) with no back release, and 7(a) with back release. Note in 6 (& 7a) front release at C; cavity filled at D; at A the back release takes place; force spent at B; Fig. 7 shows only front release; the return of the stylo to normal after cavity is filled,—the momentum carrying it a little above the normal. The latter compares well with figs. (8) and (8a), where the glottis is closed before the back release takes place, which release takes place silently. Note the Zulu examples of *u?ε:la* and *ujap'a:pa*, which bear out the test tracing. Incidentally it must be noted that this click in Zulu is not the radical (fig. 8), (cf. Doke, *Zulu Phonetics*, p. 134) but has a simultaneous glottal closure which is released after the velar closure. Fig. 8(a) differs from (8) in that the velar release is silent and the glottal stop is prolonged.

Tracing 9, shows the ejective affricate *kx'* following the click; the velar fricative *x*, and the ejective *k'* doing the same in 9(a), and 9(b). Note in 9 that due to the forcing of the air from the pharynx through a narrow opening, with excessive force, vibration (B-C) results, giving a fairly high musical note, 166 d.v. per sec. in tracing, but not caused by vibrating vocal lips. In 9(b) the only evidence of the ejective is the sharp rise of the stylo above normal and the period when the glottis is closed after the front release of the click. In 9(a) the slight vibrations in L.T. at A are caused by velar "scraping."

Fig. 10. This is the type of click which has voicing accompanying the entire click. Note again the kink in the back release upward stroke of

the stylo, from the release of the *g*. In comparing this with the Zulu "voiced" click (Doke, *Zulu Phon.* p. 134), it will be seen that [10(a), 10(b)] the stop is voiceless (Doke, *Zulu Phon.* p. 133 has noticed this too), and that voicing only starts after the stylo from the negative position has returned either to the normal or above the normal, showing that the release is voiceless too. But it will be noticed in comparing with fig. (6), that this release has less force (except when stressed), and that voicing sets in immediately after the click, which suggests a comparison of this back release-sound with the *g* of *iga:ma* (fig. 2(a)). A tracing of *isiɕgɪlɪsɪɕʔε:da*, which is not reproduced here, clearly shows the difference between the so-called "voiced" and "radical" Zulu types.

Fig. 11. In fig. 11 breath in vibration passes through the nose for the complete length of the click. Compare with this the tracing of *ayɪʔe:li*, (11a), which gives first the velar nasal and then a click with a glottal-closure back-release. Note in 11(a) that the voicing stops, when the velum closes the passage to the nose. Another tracing *ayɪʔondɪʔɕ:la* (not reproduced), giving the two types, substantiates my remarks.

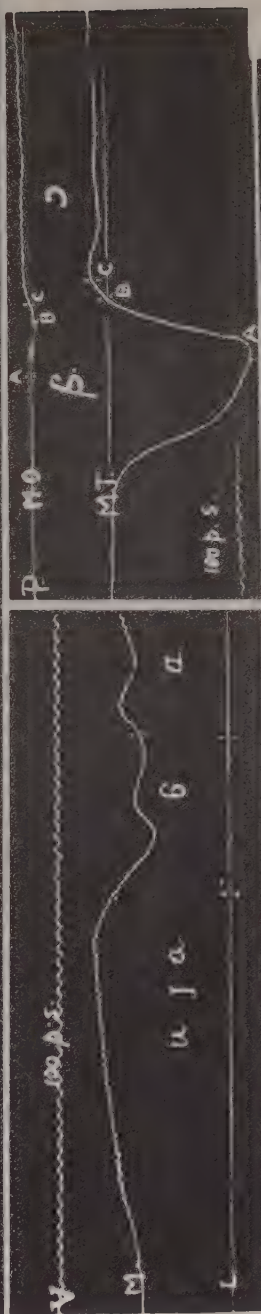
Fig. 12. The back release of this "aspirated" click reminds one of the aspirated *kh* in *ikhu:lu*. Note the energy with which the stressed click is released, and the typical kink in the upward movement of the stylo, showing where the *kh* release starts. A comparison of *uɪʔε:la* with *uɪkhε:la*, (not reproduced) brings out the essential differences between the two clicks.*

[It is interesting to compare these findings with those of (i) Selmer in his *Experimentelle Beiträge zur Zulu Phonetik*, (ii) Doke in his *Zulu Phonetics* and (iii) Panconcelli-Calzia in *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Vol. xiv. p. 287. f.].

* Unfortunately the tracings reproduced so badly that they had to be retouched by the blockmakers. In some cases like figs. 2, 2(a), 2(b), 3(b), 8(c), 10(b), 11(a), 12, no voicing shows for vowels, nasals and laterals, as recorded in the tracings. However other features are brought out, justifying publication. In tracing 1, the word should be *ujaba:mba* and in 10(b) *uja ɪga:ɪga*.

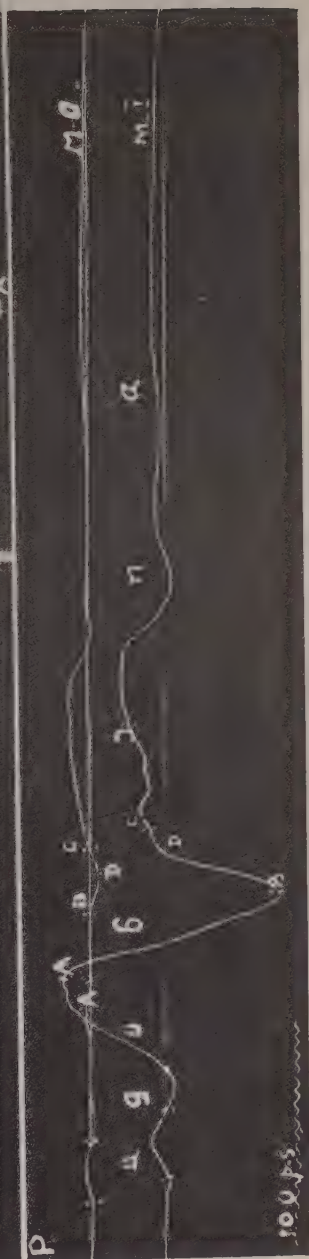


1



1 (a)

1 (b)



1 (c)



2



2 (ex)

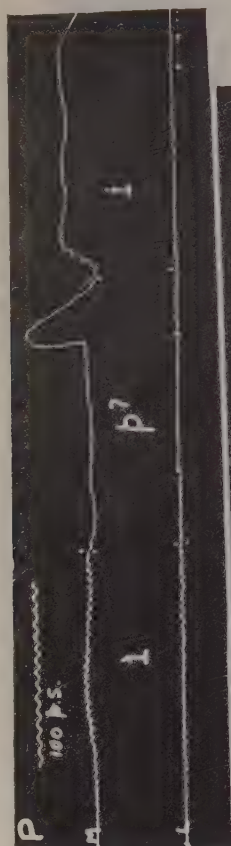


[2 (a)

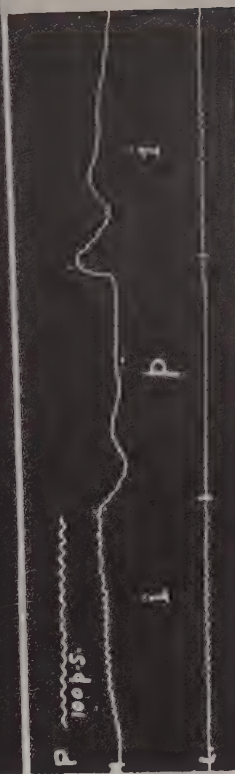


2(b)

3



4

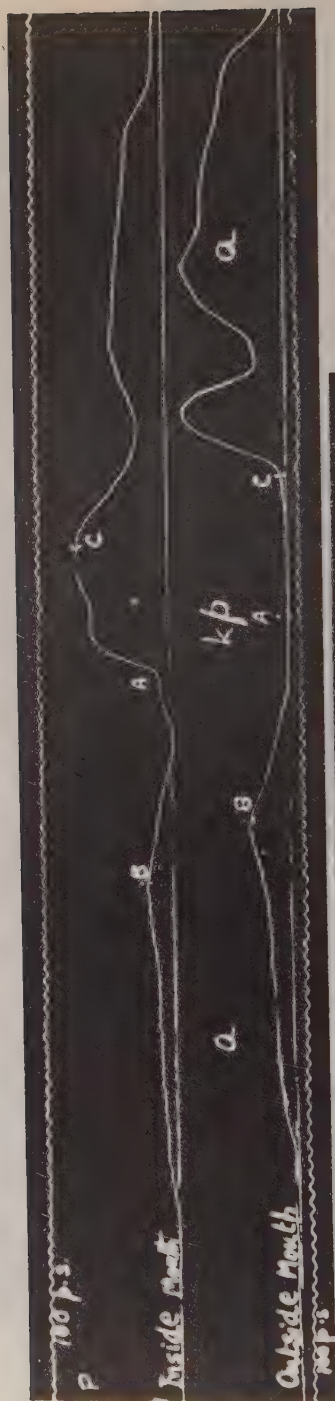


3 (a)

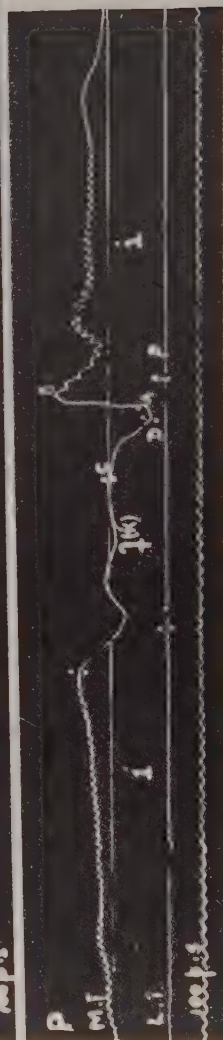


3 (b)





5



6



7 (a)

7 (b)





(a)



(b)



(c)



9 (a)



9 (b)



9



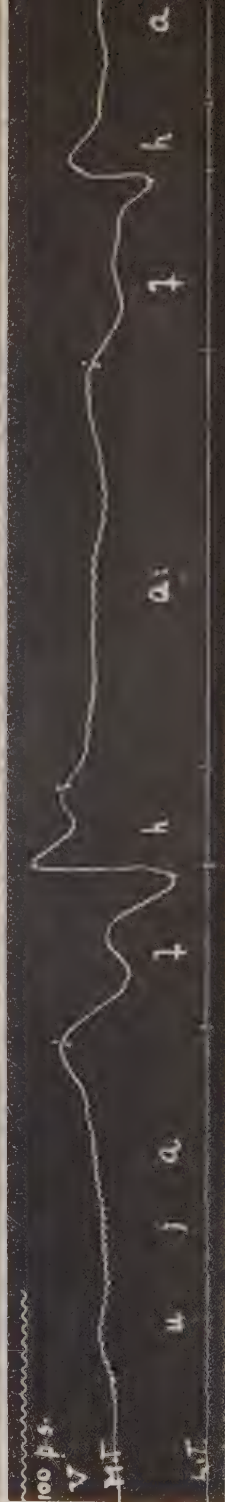
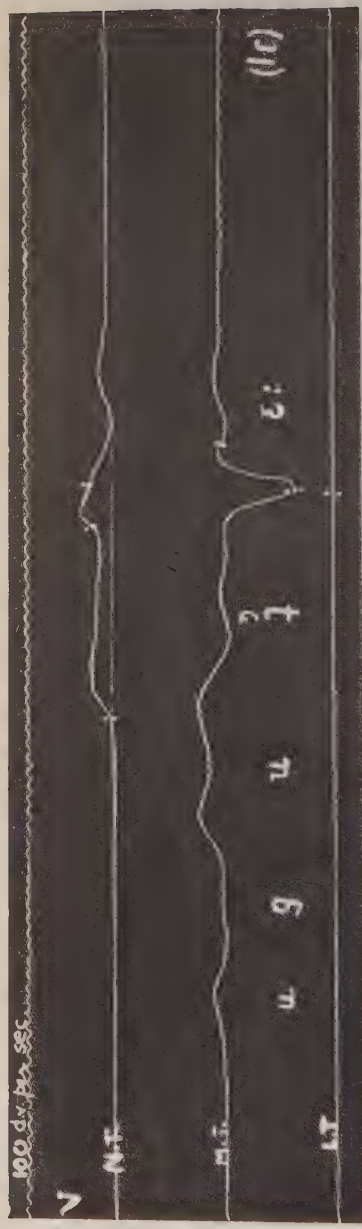
10.



10 (a)



10 (b)



BANTU GRAMMATICAL CLASSIFICATION AND LINGUISTIC NOMENCLATURE¹

By G. P. LESTRADE

The publication, some few years ago, of Professor J. Marouzeau's *Lexique de la Terminologie Linguistique* must have aroused in the mind of many a Bantuist, professional and amateur, but perhaps more particularly among amateurs in the science, the desire for a similar work written from the point of view of the Bantu languages. Not only was there room for such a work—even apart from the consideration that not all Bantuists can read French—since many linguistic terms have been and are applied to Bantu languages with a meaning more or less different from that which they bear in general and Indo-European linguistics, and since many terms are in use with reference to Bantu languages which are not found in the French work ; it was also becoming high time that a book of the kind appeared for Bantu languages, since for various reasons, such as the comparative newness of the science of Bantu linguistics, the great differences between the Bantu languages and the other longer-studied and better-known types of language from which much current linguistic terminology is derived, the lack of linguistic training on the part of many who have contributed, however meritoriously, to our knowledge of the Bantu languages, the isolation in which many students of these languages worked, and the differences in outlook between various schools of linguistic thought which have been brought to bear upon the problem of nomenclature applied to these languages, there have come to exist in the field of Bantu linguistics a multitudinousness of terms, a variety of usages and connotations, and a confusing heterogeneity of nomenclature which must have driven many an amateur to despair, and which have made things considerably more difficult for the professional student of a science, which in itself is difficult enough without the added complexity of mixed terminologies. Professor Doke's latest work must therefore be very heartily welcomed, since it not only catalogues, defines, and illustrates the terms which have been and are in use, but also attempts to unify and standardize the nomenclature of the science with which it deals. A word of acknowledgment is also due to the Carnegie Corporation, which, through the Research Grant Board, partly financed the publication of the

¹ *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* : by Clement M. Doke. Longmans, 1935. 237 pp. Published price 6s. nett,

book, and to the publishers, Messrs. Longmans, for the excellent production of the work from the point of view of printing, paper, and general get-up.

The main portion of the book is taken up with an alphabetical *Dictionary of Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, the terms collected being given in English, with French and German equivalents; defined, in the sound, concise and lucid manner to which Professor Doke has accustomed us; and illustrated, chiefly from Lamba, Shona and Zulu, of which the author has an intimate practical knowledge besides having done distinguished theoretical work in them, but also from other Bantu languages, mainly Sotho and Swahili, so that the examples are spread over a sufficient number and variety of Bantu language-types. In addition to the *Dictionary*, however, there are other important sections—an *Introduction*, in four parts (*Classification and Nomenclature*, *The Bantu Word*, *Bantu Grammatical and Syntactical Classification*, and *The Rendering of Linguistic Terminology in Bantu*), *Indexes* of the French and German terms, a *Note* on the arrangement of the *Dictionary*, and acknowledgments and references. The whole is a thoroughly workmanlike and efficient production.

With regard to the body of the *Dictionary*, it would be impossible in our present space, and for the most part gratuitous, to discuss its many articles in detail. In general, it may be said that the author has taken a very broad view of his task, and has included for definition, comment and illustration not only terms used in Bantu linguistic science in the narrower definition of the term, but also terms which fall more properly under the much broader definition of Philology as that word is understood in French or German, including numerous terms which are literary rather than linguistic (e.g. *Acrostic*, *Contents*, *Prose*, *Riddle*), and even a fair number of terms of an even more general application, whose inclusion might well be questioned (e.g. *Borrowing*, *Definition*, *Meaning*, *Sense*). He has given us not only terms which he considers should be used, but also terms of which he condemns the use for Bantu (e.g. *Case*, *Hard*, *Middle*, *Preposition*), and includes not only terms of universal acceptance (e.g. *Noun*, *Prefix*, *Length*, *Verb*) but also terms used in different ways by different authors (e.g. *Factitive*, *Grave*, *Relative*, *Stem*), as well as terms which, like some of his own, are used only by a single worker or small group of workers (e.g. *Coactive*, *Compleitive*, *Excessive*, *Ideophone*), omissions being remarkably few and far between, though some are noticed which no doubt will be supplied in a future edition: such are e.g. a number of terms used by Meinhof and the German school of Africanists, like *Heavy* and *Light*, referring to the two qualities of *i* and *u* respectively in Ur-Bantu, *i-Containing* and *u-Containing*, referring to two important

kinds of *Nasal Combinations*, etc. Apart from such few omissions, the work is encyclopaedically complete.

Perhaps the most significant single parts of the work are the second and third sections of the *Introduction* which have been mentioned above, since in these sections Professor Doke states once more the principles upon which he bases his conception of the Bantu word and of the grammatical classification of the Bantu languages, in the light of which conceptions he has carried out the detailed work of the *Dictionary*. The first part, on *Classification and Nomenclature*, need not detain us here: it contains sound and balanced remarks, with which the present reviewer heartily agrees, about such matters as the necessity for an open mind in dealing with problems of the kind touched upon, for a calm, serious and careful study of the situation, and for some agreement as to word-division in Bantu. Nor need we say much about the fourth part, on *The Rendering of Linguistic Terminology in Bantu*, not because it is not an important subject or because the author's statements on the topic are slight, but because it falls rather outside the main aim of the book. But some detailed consideration must be given to the sections on *The Bantu Word*, and on *Bantu Grammatical and Syntactical Classification*, since it is here that the reviewer would to some extent join issue with his distinguished colleague.

It is unfortunately the case—mainly owing to one or more of the factors mentioned in the first paragraph of this review—that a good deal of variety has existed, and still exists, not only as between different Bantu languages, but even in one and the same language, in regard to the theoretical conception as to what constitutes a word, in the practical application of such conception to the method of word-division, and in regard to the nature of Bantu grammatical structure and the resultant nomenclature which has been evolved to designate the various constituent elements of Bantu speech. Professor Doke is eminently right in deploring this situation and in pleading for agreement in theory and for standardization of practice in this matter, and in urging that, in dealing with these problems, preconceptions of theory and habits of practice derived from European or other languages should be avoided, and Bantu languages regarded from the point of view of their own particular genius; and he is to be congratulated upon his bold and original work in presenting for our consideration a fresh conception as to what constitutes the word, together with a new point of view as to the fundamental parts of speech in Bantu grammar, and a terminology to fit. It is not the first time that he has presented us with all these: they were foreshadowed in his *Phonetics of the Zulu language*, and elaborated for one Bantu language in his *Text-book*

of *Zulu Grammar*; and the problem of word-division was dealt with at some length in his pamphlet, *The Problem of Word-Division in Bantu, with special reference to the Languages of Mashonaland*, reviewed by the present writer in *Bantu Studies* Vol. IV No. 1. The present work however contains a somewhat more elaborate re-statement of the case for Professor Doke's conception of the Bantu word, and some discussion, absent from his former work, of the effect of this conception upon his view of the grammatical and syntactical construction of the Bantu languages. And, as Professor Doke evidently hopes that his views in these matters will find general acceptance, and as, in view of his great authority in his field, there is considerable likelihood that practice may be unified and standardized on the lines he suggests, such objections as others may have to his views must be stated now and at some length for fear of being disregarded when in course of time various reforms are introduced into the present admittedly chaotic state of things in this connection.

In the review of Professor Doke's pamphlet referred to above, the present writer, while stating certain practical objections against the conjunctive system of writing which was there linked with the author's conclusions on the nature of the Bantu word as far as its dynamic aspect was concerned, and while questioning some of the arguments used in favour of that system, agreed that the theory upon which the system was based was a correct one. But two things have become clear to the reviewer since then: firstly, that he himself had not fully appreciated the theoretical issues involved; and secondly, that he had not grasped the true nature of Professor Doke's conceptions regarding the Bantu word. It is true that these conceptions have been expressed up till now in the form of a description ("a word—or word-group—in Bantu contains one and only one main stress,") not a definition; and to this, as a description, and as far as it goes, one can still see no fundamental theoretical or practical objection, provided it is constantly kept in mind that it is a statement describing a single aspect of the word, not a definition embracing all that distinguishes a word from what is not a word; and provided, further, that a clear and unequivocal definition is given as to what constitutes "main stress."² But what was formerly given as a description, and what could only relate to a single aspect of the word, is now turned

² This, incidentally, is not the case in the relevant section of the *Dictionary*, where, instead of a definition, we find only a description of positional incidence, and where, in addition, the issue is further complicated when we read that "this (i.e. main stress) may also be called the penultimate stress" in one and the same paragraph with statements about the occurrence of main stress in non-penultimate positions in various languages and under various circumstances in the same language.

round ("The Bantu word is dependent upon the Bantu law of stress and may be defined as 'that sound or group of sounds which is subject to one main stress and one only'"—*Dictionary, s.v. Word*) and presented to us as a definition of the word as a whole; and, though other cogent reasons for conjunctive writing are ably and convincingly argued, Professor Doke gives us to understand that this definition of the word is the mainstay of his thesis for conjunctivism. We will endeavour to show, firstly, that the definition, as given, is assailable in theory and unsatisfactory in practice, and, secondly, that the case for conjunctive word-division, which we believe to be a very strong one, does not necessarily follow from the definition, but arises rather from what the definition omits than from what it includes.

Our first objection against the definition given is in point of theory. Professor Doke defines the word in its purely phonetic aspect only, and pays no attention to the other two fundamental aspects of meaning and function—at least not in his definition, though he does consider these aspects in his argument, as mentioned above. But a definition, to be theoretically sound, must consider not merely one phase of the thing defined, however fundamental that phase may be, to the exclusion of other equally and perhaps even more fundamental phases; and if Professor Doke agrees with Meillet, whom he quotes (*Dictionary, s.v. Word*) as saying that "A word results from the association of a given sense with an aggregation of sounds susceptible of a given grammatical use," then he should have defined the Bantu word in terms relating to each part of Meillet's definition of the word in general, and he cannot expect us to be satisfied with a definition which, while telling us something of the nature of the "aggregation of sounds," takes no cognizance either of the sense or the grammatical use of the sound-aggregation.

But equally strong objections may be urged against the definition on account of its incompleteness, almost amounting to sheer irrelevance, for practical purposes. The consideration of a theoretically possible and practically by no means infrequent situation will make our argument here clearer. Let us imagine a phonetician, completely ignorant of any Bantu language, but capable of distinguishing and recording its sounds and their attributes of length, stress and pitch, taking down a sentence spoken in Northern Sotho, and attempting to break up such a sentence into its constituent words with the help solely of Professor Doke's definition. What the phonetician would hear would be a stream of sounds grouped in syllables, which, using the accepted orthography of Northern Sotho, and marking the main stresses only—length and tone-marks may be disregarded in this connection—would stand as follows :

mó tho yó ke a mo tsé ba, (I know this person).

Now which are the constituent "words" of this sentence according to the definition? It will be seen that it is possible to split this succession of syllables up into different combinations, each of which would constitute a "word" as defined by Professor Doke. We may cite two to begin with:

- (1) *mótho yó keamotséba* ;
- (2) *mó thoyóke amotséba*.

In both these examples, main stress except in the case of monosyllabic words occurs in penultimate position, the general rule in Bantu. But why should the phonetician necessarily assume that Northern Sotho obeys the general Bantu rule? Why should not non-penultimate stress occur? He would then be justified in the following groupings as well:

- (3) *mó thoyó keamotséba* :
- (4) *mó thoyókeamo tséba* :
- (5) *mótho yókeamo tséba* :

Each of the "words" in these five sentences, it is submitted, falls within the terms of Professor Doke's definition of the word: but does it obey Meillet's for the word in general, or the definition which Professor Doke could have stated so briefly, lucidly and explicitly for the word in Bantu, but did not? *thoyó*, *thoyóke*, and *thoyókeamo* are groups of sounds subject to a single main stress: but as to their meaning or grammatical function, no man can say.

So much for the help we can get from the definition, unaided by any other theoretical considerations or by the results of experimental practice. It is only fair to Professor Doke to say at once that he does adduce other theoretical matter, such as the semantic inseparableness of purely morphological sound-groups incapable of functioning as complete units of meaningful utterance in Bantu, and that he does lay before us in his present work, as he did in his previous pamphlet, the results of experimental investigation in this regard. But his definition of the word does not contain any reference to other than phonetic considerations of theory, and contains no mention of experimental evidence and must therefore be amended in these two directions before it can find acceptance.

It will now have become clear that questions of word-division cannot be settled upon the slender and equivocal basis afforded by a purely phonetic definition of the word. Other considerations, most of which are in fact also adduced by Professor Doke, must determine for us how

the stream of Bantu speech is to be divided up and recorded in writing. On the theoretical side, we shall have to be guided mainly by two considerations, firstly semantic and secondly functional ; and on the practical side, we shall probably gain much help from investigations upon Native speakers, provided such investigations are rigorously planned and critically controlled, and provided they are carried out over a sufficiently long period and in a sufficiently large number of instances of unassailable validity. In this connection we feel bound to reiterate that the account which Professor Doke gives of his experiments in this connection in Mashonaland, while containing much suggestive matter, does not point to finally convincing results : we are told little of the persons on whom the experiments were carried out, of the conditions under which the tests were conducted, or of the controls that were employed in checking the results obtained, nor do the experiments seem to have taken place over a sufficiently long period or on a sufficiently large number of subjects. But the experimental method, we feel sure, will do much to help theory in this very difficult problem.

Professor Doke's views on the nature of Bantu grammar are not, fortunately, based exclusively upon his definition of the Bantu word : questions of sense and function seem to have played a large, one feels almost the largest, part in the matter. As a result, there is not nearly so much difference between his views and those of the great body of Bantuists as might have been feared. Differences there are, however. Many of these are almost entirely terminological, and need not detain us here ; and, on this point, it is a happy augury that the terminology employed in the present book is not nearly as different from the nomenclature employed by other workers as was that of the author's *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar*, just as the orthography employed in the second edition of the latter work is much closer to traditional Zulu orthography than was that of the first edition. But there are other and quite serious differences of outlook upon Bantu grammar between Professor Doke and other Bantuists, and some of these will have to be discussed.

Professor Doke recognizes six " fundamental parts of speech " in Bantu : the Substantive, the Qualificative, the Predicative, the Descriptive, the Conjunction, and the Interjection. Five of these, the Conjunction being the exception, are further divided : the Substantive into Noun and Pronoun—the Pronoun itself is again subdivided,—the Qualificative into Adjective, Relative, Numeral—the latter term used in a different sense from that usually understood by linguists—and Possessive, the Predicative into Verb—also sub-divided—and Copulative, the Descriptive into Ideophone and Adverb, and the Interjection comprising

vocatives of nouns and imperatives of verbs, in addition to the exclamatory words which are usually grouped in this class, and for which Professor Doke has somewhat unaccountably missed the opportunity of coining a new name. The division of these so-called "fundamental" parts of speech is necessitated by important differences in order of meaning, in function and in form of the constituent members of each division, and it may be remarked in passing that it is a little difficult to see the full theoretical justification for grouping together, as one fundamental part of speech, words which show such differences semantically, functionally and morphologically as do some of the divisions cited above, and that the subdivision of the Pronoun, on a semantic, functional and morphological basis, contrasts favourably with that of the Verb, in which only form seems to play an important part.

Most of the objections that may be raised against Professor Doke's grammatical classification refer to matters of detail, and of these only one or two of the more important can be mentioned here. Professor Doke deserves credit for having recognized the dual function of many words, and for having provided different classifications for such words in their different functions, with terminologies to fit. A good case in point is that of the Qualificative, which may function as a pure qualificative, coupled with a qualified word, in some instances, and as a qualificative pronoun, in the absence of the qualified word, in other cases. It is all the more remarkable that Professor Doke does not seem to have seen a similar phenomenon in other equally patent cases, and has not merely not provided a dual classification and nomenclature for such cases, but has even, in his zeal to reform, wrenched words violently out of the grammatical classes into which they have been hitherto put, only to put them into an equally one-sided but new class of his own. If the infinitive is a noun in function in such a sentence as *Ndi funa u ya* (I want to go) in Venda, it is functionally a verb in such a phrase as *Ndi do* (= *da + u*) *ya* (I come to (=shall) go), and should not be entirely torn away from other related verbal forms, as is proposed, and confined to the noun-class. Similarly, imperatives may have a certain exclamatory meaning and function, which may or may not entitle them to be classified as interjections: but they are semantically related to the relevant verb, they have morphological features not normally found in other interjections,³ and they should not be forcibly torn away from their semantic and morphological cognate, the verb, and forced exclusively into the class of inter-

³ Though one of these morphological features, the plural formation, seems to have gone over from imperatives into other interjectional words, in such cases as Shona *Kwaziwa*, *kwaziwai*, Tswana (*Utlwa*) *he*, (*utlwang*) *heng*.

jections. The same objections and the same arguments hold, *mutatis mutandis*, against the view which regards vocatives exclusively as interjections and locatives exclusively as adverbs, as also against that which seems to overlook the fact that demonstratives and enumeratives may be used qualificatively as well as pronominally, and which classifies purely qualificative use of these as appositional.

One closing word must be said. The reviewer has discussed Professor Doke's book in that spirit of searching criticism which he knows his friend and colleague would like to have applied to it as he in his turn has applied it throughout his distinguished work on the Bantu languages. It should therefore hardly be necessary to assure Professor Doke and readers of the review that the criticisms levelled against his book are intended in a friendly and constructive manner, and that such praise as has been bestowed is given where it is only too due.

AFRICAN ALPHABETS AND THE TELEGRAPH PROBLEM

By A. N. TUCKER

The alphabet of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures has now been adopted as a basis for several African languages (in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and the Southern Sudan). Various problems connected with its application have been encountered and mastered. The problem of capital letters and cursive forms was the first. Then the problem of how to type in the new script. This was easily overcome by devoting to the new letters those keys which normally contain fractions like "quarters" and "eighths"—keys seldom or never used by the average vernacular typist.

A bigger difficulty now presents itself:—How are vernacular telegrams to be transmitted? This question has already been put forward in the Sesuto field, and will certainly have to be answered before the alphabet finds its way into South or East Africa, where the art of reading and writing and other attributes of Western civilization already play a large part in African life.

There are two ways in which the problem may be avoided. The first would be by anglicising the spelling of words containing the new symbols: e.g. by telegraphing "*sh*" for "*f*," "*ng*" for "*η*," "*gh*" for "*γ*," etc., etc. This method has obvious drawbacks, and would certainly fail in a language like Ewe, where *f* and *f*, *v* and *v*, *d* and *d* have to be differentiated, to say nothing of the differentiation of vowels like *e* and *ε*, *o* and *ɔ*.

The other way of avoiding the issue would be to give to un-European sounds the code values of those European sounds which are not used by the Native. A good illustration of this is the system for transmitting Arabic in Egypt and the Sudan. The following English letters have no counterpart in the Arabic alphabet—*a e i o u c x v* and many Arabic letters no counterpart in the English alphabet—consequently the code combinations for these English letters have been allotted Arabic values in what seems a somewhat haphazard manner:—

<i>Morse</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>(Phonetic value of Arabic letter)</i>
—	a	ا	long "a" usually
.	e	u	?
..	i	ي	y
----	o	و	x
..—	u	ط	t
—... .	c	ث	θ
—...—	x	ض	ʔ
...—	v	ص	d

The greatest drawback to a scheme of this nature for all Africa would be the impossibility of collusion between languages in such a substitution. Thus, Sesuto, which has no *v* or *x* in its alphabet, might be tempted to use the code combinations of these letters for two new letters; this example could not, however, be followed by Zulu, whose alphabet contains both *v* and *x*. And one has only to think of the number of languages in Africa which have as yet no alphabet, but which may at any future time be given one, to realize the impracticability of this scheme in a wide field. In addition it must be remembered that the Egyptian telegraph operator has to transmit English and French as well as Arabic; and to oblige him to remember two utterly dissimilar values for each of some ten or eleven code combinations does not seem a very happy solution.

The only satisfactory solution is to attach new code signs to all the Institute's new letters. This article is intended to show how the Morse telegraphic code can be expanded to include these new letters. Naturally governmental co-operation would be needed before such a system could hope to find its way into the innumerable post and telegraph offices scattered over the areas where Native languages are written—and herein lies the scheme's greatest drawback.

As is well known, the Morse system is built up of combinations of "dot" and "dash," the length of each combination varying from one dot or dash (as in *e* or *t*) to six (as in "full stop"). Not all the possible combinations are in use, however, or have values attached to them, and it is in these unused combinations that the code forms for the Institute's new letters must be sought.

In the following section all the possible combinations of dot and dash (from one to five units) are set out, with their Morse values (in European languages) attached where they exist.

There are only two single Morse units :—

e	—	t
---	---	---

There are four two-fold combinations :—

..	i	---	m
—	a	—.	n

There are eight three-fold combinations :—

...	s	----	o
...—	u	---.	g
—---	w	—..	d
—..	r	—.—	k

There are sixteen four-fold combinations :—

....	h	-----	ch (German)
....—	v	-----.	œ ö ø (French, German & Scandinavian)
...---	ü (German)	----..	z
—----	j	—...	b
...--	f	---..	q
...--	l	—.—	y
—.--	ä æ (German and Scandinavian)	—....	c
—.--.	p	—...—	x

There are thirty-two five-fold combinations :—

.....	5	----- ¹
....—	4	-----.
...---	3	----..
...---	2	---...
—----	1	—....
....—.	" understood "	-----.
....—.		-----.
...--.	" Is this correct ? "	---....
	(Wireless only)	
—....	" wait "	—....
...--.	" separate "	---....
...--.		---....

¹ This symbol is employed for the figure nought. [Ed.]

•—•••		—••—•—	
•—•••—	ä ³ (Scandinavian)	—••—•	/
•—•••—		—•••— ²	=
•••••	"end"	—••—•—	
•••••	é (French)	—••—•—	ñ (Spanish)

Of the sixty-four possible six-fold combinations, some dozen or so are used to indicate punctuation. The rest are untouched. Thus:—

•••••	(full stop)
—•••••	(semi-colon)
•••••—	(comma)
—•••••	(colon)
••••••	(interrogation mark)
—•••••—	(exclamation mark)
••••••—	(apostrophe)
—•••••—	(hyphen)
—•••••	/
—•••••—	(brackets)
••••••	(inverted commas)
••••••—	(underlining)
••••••—	(end of work)

As can be seen from the above list, there are many five-fold combinations that have not yet been incorporated into the Morse alphabet. It is from these that the suggestions for the new letters are mostly drawn. There are ten new letters in the Institute's alphabet, namely,

o e f v z x t d j v

To these I should like to add the suggested characters *ɖ* and *ɓ*, representing the unvoiced and voiced lateral fricatives (usually written "hl" and "dl"), also the symbols *l* (for the sound mid-way between *e* and *i*) and *ʌ* (for the flapped *l*, where it is differentiated from *l* and *r*). Both of these sounds are important in the Eastern Sudanic languages, and the adoption of these symbols is now under discussion. And finally *δ* and *ɾ* as in the new Xhosa orthography.

o The sound of o is approximately that of Scandinavian *ä* or *d*. Hence the same code combination may conveniently be used for it, namely •—•••— (this would apply equally well to the Sechuana letter *δ*).

² This is used for the break signal between the address and the text of a message.
[Ed.]

€ There is no need for the symbol € , since that sound is already represented by "e" in the Institute's alphabet. Hence the code combination for € may with no difficulty be used for €, namely ••—•• (this would apply equally well to the Sechuana letter €).

f The "sch" sound is represented by •••—— in German, which combination should be used here for the same sound. (This would apply equally well to the Sechuana letter f).

Central vowels. In some of the Nilotic languages (see the Rejaf Language Conference Report) there are two central or centralized vowels, which are written *ö* and *ä* respectively.³ In telegraphy they should therefore have the same code combination as German "ö" and "ä," although their pronunciation is different from that of the German letters. Hence:—

ö ———•

ä •—•—

In determining codes for the other letters, I have tried, as far as possible, to find combinations resembling those of similar sounds which are already represented in the Morse alphabet. Thus:—

ŋ	—•——•	(like <i>ng</i> run together)
ɣ	—••——	(like <i>x</i> with extra dash at end)
ʒ	——••—	(like <i>z</i> with extra dash at end)
t	—•••—	(like <i>tr</i> with extra dash at end)
ɖ	——••—	(like <i>tr</i> with extra dash at beginning)
ɗ	•——••	(like <i>l</i> with two dashes instead of one)
ʄ	—••••	(like <i>l</i> with extra dash at beginning)
f	•———•	(like <i>p</i> with three dashes instead of two)
v	••——•	(like <i>p</i> with extra dot at beginning)
ʈ	•••——	(like <i>r</i> with two dashes at end)
i	————— ⁴	(no clue can be given)

Representation of the Clicks and Implosive Consonants :

Clicks. There are five known series of clicks in South African Native languages, two of which, however, are rather rare. (One of

³ The Rejaf Language Conference Report takes only one central vowel into consideration, namely *ö*. Since the Conference, it has become apparent that centralized "a" (viz. *ä*) has to be added.

⁴ This would not be available, as it is used for the figure nought. [Ed.]

these, the Bushman bilibial click, need not be considered here, as the language in which it occurs is fast dying out.) The clicks in Zulu and Xhosa are represented in the current orthography by the letters *c*, *q* and *x*. In Morse these naturally have the combinations —•—•—•—•— and —••— In Hottentot the *c*-click and the *q*-click are represented by the punctuation signs / and ! and would consequently have the code combinations —••—•— and —•—•—•— respectively.

It is possible that the Institute may decide on special symbols for all the clicks, in which case special code combinations will be necessary. I should suggest then for the three principal clicks, code combinations consisting of the combinations for *c*, *q* and *x* respectively + two dashes, thus making a six-fold combination for each click. Thus:—

	<i>Current Hottentot literature</i>	<i>Current Zulu-Xhosa literature</i>	<i>Suggested Morse code combination</i>
Dental click	/	<i>c</i>	—•—•—•—•—
Palatal click	!	<i>q</i>	—•—•—•—•—
Lateral click	//	<i>x</i>	—•—•—•—•—
Cerebral click (Hottentot only)	≠		—•—•—•—•— (<i>tk</i> + two dashes)

Implosives. In the West Coast languages, implosive *b* (where it occurs) is written *gb*. It would thus be telegraphed —•—•—•—•—.

In the Southern Sudan (Bari and related languages) implosive *b* and *d* are written '*b*' and '*d*'. The code combination for '*b*' is •—•—•—•—•— so there should be no difficulty in telegraphing messages containing these sounds •—•—•—•—•— •—•—•—•—•— and •—•—•—•—•— •—•—•—•—•— respectively.

In Zulu-Xhosa, however, implosive *b* has recently been given the new symbol *β*⁵ (taken from the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association), while there is every possibility that Shona, which has the implosive *d* as well, will take the symbol *d* for the latter sound. I should suggest for these two letters the code combinations :

β —•—•—•—•—

d —•—•—•—•—

Recapitulation

The suggested Morse code for the Institute's new letters is as follows:—(The letters are given here in the same order as they appear on

⁵ In the new orthography for Native schools ; which has also coined a new letter "β" for the velar fricative, instead of adopting the Institute's letters *x* or *γ*. The suggested code combination for *γ* will therefore do for *β* in Xhosa.

page 13 of Memorandum 1. Additional letters are given in the right-hand column.)

<i>Institute's new letters</i>		<i>Clicks and letters not in the Institute's alphabet</i>	
<i>t</i>	— • — • — • —	/ or <i>c</i> -click	— • — • — • —
<i>ḑ</i>	— — • — •	! or <i>q</i> -click	— — • — • — • —
<i>ʈ</i>	— • — • — •	// or <i>x</i> -click	— • • — • — • —
<i>f</i>	• — • — •	≠ click	— — • — • — • —
<i>v</i>	• • — • — •	<i>ɕ</i>	• — • — • •
<i>ʃ</i>	• • • — • — (ʃ in Sechuana)	<i>ɖ</i>	— • — • •
<i>ʒ</i>	— — • • —	<i>ɗ</i>	• — • — • —
<i>ʎ</i>	— • • — • —	<i>ɛ</i>	— — • — • — • —
<i>ɛ</i>	• • — • • (ɛ in Sechuana)	<i>ō</i>	— — • — •
<i>ɔ</i>	• — • • — (ɔ in Sechuana)	<i>ā</i>	• — • — •
		<i>ḡ</i>	— — • — • — • —
		<i>d</i>	— • — • — • —
		[<i>r</i> Xhosa	— • • — • — (= <i>r</i>)]

This scheme still leaves many six unit combinations for applying to new letters or signals as the need may arise.

DIE BETEKENIS EN FUNKSIE VAN DIE VOORVOEGSEL VAN DIE SEWENDE KLAS VAN SELFSTANDIGE NAAMWOORDE IN DIE SOTHO-TSWANA-GROEP VAN BANTOETALE

Deur P. J. COERTZE

1. Meinhof het in sy *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen* probeer om vas te stel wat die oorspronklike betekenisse is van die klassevoorvoegsels van die selfstandige naamwoorde in die Bantoe-tale en ook watter betekenis-ontwikkelinge plaasgevind het. Hy het die verskynsels probeer nagaan by 'n hele aantal Bantoetale, en die slotsom waartoe hy gekom het sover as wat dit die sewende klas betref is die volgende:

a. Die voorvoegsel (B. *ki-*, Sotho-Tšwana-groep: *se-*) word gebruik om selfstandige naamwoorde te vorm wat *gewoontes*, *gebruike* en *werktuie* aandui. Die aanduiding van gewoontes, aard en wyse met dié voorvoegsel het daartoe aanleiding gegee dat dit ook aangewend is om gewone abstrakte selfstandige naamwoorde te vorm.

b. Dit is ook gebruik om selfstandige naamwoorde te vorm wat *dinge* en *sake* aandui. Mense wat een of ander gebrek toon is dan ook hierby gereken as dinge. Dit het daartoe aanleiding gegee dat dit ook aangewend is as spotvoorvoegsel. Uit die idee van spot en veragtelikheid het dan ontwikkel die gewoonte om dit aan te wend as verkleinings—of as vergrotingsvoorvoegsel. (Vgl. *Grundzüge*. 12).

2. Na aanleiding hiervan sou dit miskien interessant wees om te sien tot watter slotsom 'n mens kóm wanneer 'n ondersoek ingestel word oor die betekenis en funksie van die voorvoegsel van die sewende klas in een bepaalde taal of groep van tale wat nou aanmekaar verwant is. Vir die doel het ons die tale van die Sotho-Tšwana-groep gekies omdat ons weet dat hulle 'n taalkundige eenheid vorm en nou aanmekaar verwant is. As die verskillende voorvoegsels wat in die Bantoetale aangetref word oorspronklik elk 'n eie betekenis en funksie gehad het dan moet die betekenis van 'n bepaalde woordstam 'n sekere kleur kry wanneer 'n bepaalde voorvoegsel daarvoor geplaas word. In ons ondersoek het ons dan ook 'n hele aantal woordstamme gesoek waarvoor verskillende voorvoegsels kan tree en ons het probeer nagaan watter betekenis 'n woord kry wanneer die voorvoegsel van die sewende klas, nl. *se-*, daarvoor tree.

Daar moenie gereken word dat die lyste van woorde wat gegee word volledig is nie en as 'n woord aangegee word as bestaande in één taal volg dit nie daaruit dat dit in die ander tale nie bestaan nie. Ons bedoeling is nie om volledige lyste te gee nie, ons voer net genoegsame voorbeelde aan om ons redenering te illustreer.

In die studie word die volgende afkortings gebruik: So. vir *Sesotho* van Basoetoland, Pe. vir *Sepedi* en Tšw. vir *Setswana*. Die Sotho-tale van die Transvaal word teenswoordig aangedui met die omvattende naam *Noord-Sotho*, terwyl die taal van Basoetoland Suid-Sotho genoem word. Ons maak hier nie gebruik van die terminologie nie aangesien ons ons voorbeelde wat die Transvaalse Sotho-tale verteenwoordig, alleen uit Sepedi gekies het. Waar ons die afkorting Pe. gebruik bedoel ons dus net Sepedi alleen. Omdat ons nie die term Noord-Sotho gebruik nie maak ons ook nie gebruik van die term Suid-Sotho nie. *Sotho* dui dus hier alleen die taal van Basoetoland aan.

Die getalle tussen hakies, agter die woorde wat as voorbeelde aangehaal word, dui volgens die Meinhofse klassifikasie die klasse aan waaraan die woorde behoort.

3. In hierdie klas word woorde aangetref wat dinge aandui en uit die voorbeelde blyk dit dat die dinge hier gereken word na aanleiding van hulle geardeheid of voorkoms. Vergelyk die volgende:

<i>sephotolo</i> (7) So.	: 'n Ronde ding.
<i>sepapetla</i> (7) So.	: 'n Plat ding.
<i>seputswe</i> (7) So.	: 'n Grys ding.
<i>sebodu</i> (7) So.	: 'n Vrot ding.
<i>sephuthêla</i> (7) So.	: 'n Toegedraaide ding: 'n Pakkie.
<i>selô</i> (7) So., Pe., Tšw.	: 'n Ding.

4. Mense word ook in die klas van selfstandige naamwoorde gereken. Sulke persoonlike selfstandige naamwoorde het egter 'n bybetekenis. Hulle betekenis word beïnvloed deur die ding-idee wat in die klas opgesluit lê. In hulle betekenis kry ons: 1. die idee van spot (benaminge waar 'n slegte betekenis in opgesluit is) en 2. 'n idee van grootheid, belangrikheid of buitengewoonheid. Dit is moontlik dat die twee soorte van benaminge met mekaar verwant is. 'n Persoon kan bespotlik wees weëns sy grootheid of buitengewoonheid. Die idee van bespotlikheid kan dan later deur die idee van grootheid verdring gewees het, sodat die voorvoegsel gebruik is om augmentatiewe te vorm.

Voorbeelde om aan te toon dat die *se-* voorvoegsel 'n veragtelike betekenis gee aan selfstandige naamwoorde wat mense aandui:

- motho* (1) So., Pe., Tšw. : 'n Mens.
botho (14) So., Pe., Tšw. : Goedheid, menslikheid.
setho (7) Tšw. : 'n Dwaas, 'n Dingmens.
 Pe. : 'n Spook.
 So. : Menslike aard en gewoontes.
kakó (9) Pe., So. : 'n Soen (*aka* : soen.)
leako (5) Pe. : 'n Bed.
moaki (1) Pe. : 'n Rondloper.
ngwako (3) Pe. : 'n Huis.
seaki (7) Pe. : 'n Hoer.
seaka (7) Tšw. : 'n Hoer, So., : Iemand wat graag soen
boaka (14) Tšw. : Hoerery.
monwi (1) So. : Iemand wat graag drink. (*nwa* : drink.)
bonwi (14) So. : Drinkgewoontes.
senwi (7) So. : 'n Dronkaard.
senó (*senwó*) Pe., *senó* So., *senwó* Tšw. (7) : drank.
lefofu (5) So. : Blindheid.
bofofu (14) So., Pe. : Blindheid.
sefofu (7) So., Pe. : 'n Blinde persoon.
sehohu (7) Tšw. : 'n Blinde persoon.
bokhoba (14) So. : Luiheid.
sekhoba (7) So. : 'n Lui persoon.
bokoa (14) So., Pe. : Swakte.
sekoa (7) So. : 'n Sieklike persoon.

Vergelyk verder die volgende woorde :

- sejêla-thokó* (7) So., Pe. : Iemand wat alleen eet.
se-ka-motho (7) So. : Iemand wat net op 'n mens lyk maar
 geen mens is nie, 'n Dwaas.
sekwahlapa (7) So. : 'n Vuil, slordige persoon.
sehóle (7) So. : 'n Gebreklige persoon.
sexóle (7) Pe. : 'n Gebreklige persoon.
semumu (7) So., Pe. : 'n Doofstomme.
sexafa (7) Pe. : 'n Malmens. Dit kan wees dat die stam hier
 die betekenis van veragtelikheid aan die woord gee want
xafa beteken : mal wees. Vergelyk die volgende :
lexafa (5) Pe. : 'n Mal persoon.
boxafi (14) Pe. : Malheid, Raserny.

Voorbeelde om aan te dui dat die *se*-voorvoegsel 'n begrip van groothed of buitengewoonheid gee aan selfstandige naamwoorde wat *mense* aandui :

<i>selô-motho</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot mens ('n Dingmens.)
<i>selô-se-phela</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot mens of ding.
<i>seoka</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot persoon, ding of os.
<i>seša</i> (7) So.	: 'n Dik sterk man.
<i>senatla</i> (7) So., Pe.	: 'n Sterk persoon.
<i>sehohotlô</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot ding, 'n Sterk man.
<i>serôô</i> (7) Pe.	: 'n Veglustige persoon, 'n Held.
<i>borôô</i> (14) Pe.	: Veglustigheid, Dapperheid.
<i>selalome</i> (7) So., Tšw.	: 'n Woeste persoon, 'n Wildedier.

Uit die boonste voorbeelde kan 'n mens aflei dat die voorvoegsel gebruik word in persoonlike selfstandige naamwoorde om die idee van grootheid (buitengewoonheid) en veragtelikheid uit te druk.

5. Die grootheidsidee wat in die voorvoegsel opgesluit lê is egter nie net beperk tot persoonlike selfstandige naamwoorde nie, dit het ook oorgegaan op diere en dinge. Op die wyse het die voorvoegsel verander in ene waarmee augmentatiewe gevorm word. Hierdie ontwikkeling is waarneembaar in die volgende voorbeelde :

<i>tlena</i> (9) So.	: 'n Kakebeen.
<i>setlena</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot kakebeen
<i>phefô</i> (9) So.	: Wind.
<i>sefefô</i> (7) So.	: 'n Storm.
<i>mosi</i> (3) So., Tšw.	: Rook.
<i>sesi</i> (7) So.	: Baie rook.
<i>mohla</i> (3) So.	: 'n Dagtyd, Tyd.
<i>sehla</i> (7) So.	: 'n Jaar, 'n Lang tydperk.
<i>leriri</i> (5) Pe.	: Een enkele lang haar.
<i>moriri</i> (3) So., Pe., Tšw.	: 'n Haar van 'n mens.
<i>seriri</i> (7) Pe.	: Woeste, ongesnyde en ongekamde lang hare. : Iemand wat sy hare so dra.

Vergelyk verder die volgende voorbeelde :

<i>seduku-duku</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot wind.
<i>sekotlô</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot kalf.
<i>sekibi-kibi</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot stuk vleis.
<i>selomô</i> (7) So.	: 'n Diep afgrond.
<i>sekhlotlô</i> (7) So.	: 'n Groot mielikop.
<i>sedimo</i> (7) Pe.	: 'n Sterk warrelwind.

6. Alle persoonlike selfstandige naamwoorde wat in hierdie klas aangetref word is egter nie spotname of name van groot persone nie. Ons

tref 'n hele aantal persoonlike selfstandige naamwoorde in hierdie klas aan waarin hierdie betekenis glad nie aanwesig is nie. 'n Groot aantal van die persoonlike selfstandige naamwoorde wat in hierdie klas aangetref word en wat nie 'n slegte betekenis het nie en wat nie 'n idee van grootheid of buitengewoonheid weergee nie, is selfstandige naamwoorde wat van werkwoorde afgelei is. Dit dui persone aan wat sekere handeling uitvoer. In hierdie opsig het dit dus dieselfde funksie wat die eerste klas het. Hier lyk egter 'n verskil aanwesig te wees. Vergelyk die volgende voorbeelde:

- mofadi* (1) So. : 'n Skrapeer van velle (mens.)
sefadi (7) So. : Iemand wat goed kan skraap.
moaxi (1) Pe. : 'n Bouer.
seaxi (7) Pe. : 'n Messelaar wat goed kan bou.
mohahi (1) So. : Iemand wat bou, 'n Inwoner.
sehahi (7) So. : 'n Messelaar.
moabi (1) Pe. : 'n Uitdelers.
seabi (7) Pe. : Iemand wat graag uitdeel.
mohlabi (1) So. : Iemand wat steek, wat slag.
sehlabi (7) So. : 'n Slagter.

Uit die voorgaande lyk dit of die selfstandige naamwoorde wat persone aandui en aan die *se*-klas behoort persone aandui wat gewoonte-handeling uitvoer of deskundiges is op een of ander gebied, dit wil sê bepaalde handeling so dikwels uitvoer dat hulle dit goed kan doen. Daarnaas kry ons ook nog selfstandige naamwoorde wat persone aandui wat sekere handeling graag uitvoer. Dit kan aanleiding gee tot 'n gewoonte om die handeling uit te voer.

Persone word dus tot die klas gereken nie net omdat hulle groot, buitengewoon of bespotlik is nie maar ook omdat hulle gewoonte-handeling uitvoer volgens hulle aard.

7. Nou verbonde met die woorde wat persone wat 'n spesiale handeling uitvoer aandui, is die woorde wat die handeling self, die resultaat van die handeling en die plek van handeling aandui, soos blyk uit die volgende voorbeelde:

1. Selfstandige naamwoorde van klas *sewe* wat 'n handeling aandui:

- sethséhó* (7) So. : 'n Gelag, (afgelei van *thséha* : lag.)
mothséhi (1) So. : Iemand wat lag.
bothséhi (14) So. : 'n Laggewoonte.
thséhó (9) So. : 'n Gelag.
thséxó (9) Pe. : 'n Gelag.
leséxó (5) Pe. : 'n Gelag, Gegiggel.

(Ongelukkig kon ek nie die woord *sethséhi* (7) kry nie, maar as die woord bestaan sou 'n mens verwag dat dit sou beteken: Iemand wat gedurig lag, iemand wat graag lag, iemand wat uit gewoonte lag.)

- sehoó* (7) So. : 'n Geskreeu van baie mense. (*hoa* : skreeu)
mohoó (3) So. : 'n Skreeu.
khoó (9) So. : 'n Skreeu, Geskreeu.
mahoó-hoó (6) So : 'n Rumoerige troep mense.
selló (7) So., Pe. : 'n Harde geweën, geskreeu.
molló (3) So. : 'n Gehuil.
molli (1) So. : Iemand wat huil.
teló (9) Tšw. : 'n Skreeu, 'n Blêr.

Uit die voorbeelde blyk dit egter dat die idee van handeling nie alleen beperk is tot die sewende klas nie en dus nie kan beskou word as 'n tipiese funksie van die klas om selfstandige naamwoorde wat handelinge aandui te vorm nie. Dis besmoontlik dat handelinge wat intens uitgevoer word of handelinge wat gevoel word as handelinge van 'n sterker graad, hieronder gereken word. Moontlik moet dit beskou word as gewoonte-handelinge. Ons voorbeelde gee op hierdie punt geen uitkoms nie; vergelyk egter *sehoó* en *selló*. Verder kan die volgende voorbeelde ook nog in aanmerking geneem word :

- seakó* (7) So. : Die gehaas van mense te voet.
boakó (14) Pe. : Haas.
seaduma (7) So. : 'n Gedreun van donder.
modumo (3) So., Pe. : 'n Geraas, 'n Klank.
leduméla (5) So. : 'n Onderaardse geraas.
maduméla (6) So. : Groete.
madume (6) So. : 'n Klank, Geraas.
 Pe. : Groete.
sebókó (7) So. : 'n Gehuil, getreur.
sengae (7) So. : 'n Geweeklag.

2. Selfstandige naamwoorde van klas sewe wat die resultaat van 'n handeling aandui :

- seaxó* (7) Pe. : 'n Gebou.
leaxó (5) Pe. : Bou, Struktuur (Tšw. *loaxó*).
moaxi (1) Pe. : Inwoner, Bewoner, Iemand wat bou.
seaxi (7) Pe. : Messelaar.
kahó (9) So. : 'n Gebou, Bou, Woning.
seabó (7) Pe. : 'n Deel, Aandeel.
seabó (7) So. : Deel, Plig, Werk.

- seabi* (7) Pe. : Iemand wat iets graag uitdeel.
moabi (1) Pe., So. : Iemand wat uitdeel.
seabe (7) Tšw. : 'n Deel.
sesêto (7) Tšw. : 'n Figuur uit hout gesny.
mosêti (1) So. : 'n Houtsnyer.
mosêto (3) So. : 'n Snywerktuig.
lesêtêdi (5) So. : 'n Splinter, 'n Spaander.
sebitso (7) So. : 'n Openbare byeenkoms.
lebitso (5) So. : 'n Naam.
pitsô (9) So. : 'n Vergadering.
lerêto (5) Pe. : Lof.
serêto (7) Pe. : 'n Pryslied.
morêto (3) Tšw. : Liefingsnaam, Familienaam.

3. Selfstandige naamwoorde van klas sewe wat die plek van handeling aandui :

- sebêtlêlo* (7) So. : 'n Skrynwerkerswinkel.
sebêtli (7) So. : 'n Skrynwerker.
pêtlô (9) So. : Die sny van hout.
 Pe. : 'n Snyinstrument.
mmêtli (1) Pe. : Timmerman, Beeldhouer, Houtsnyer.
sebêtlêla (7) Pe. : 'n Spaander, Splinter, 'n Skaafbank.
sefuthô (7) So. : 'n Smidswinkel.
sefuthi (7) So. : 'n Smid.
mofuthô (3) So. : 'n Blaasbalk.
mofuthi (1) So. : 'n Smid.
sebesô (7) Pe. : vuurherd. (So. dieselfde.)
mmesi (1) So. : Die een wat braai.
sekkhotla (7) So. : Plek waar mense bymekaar kom, Kampplek.
khotla (9) So. : 'n Hof, Bymekaarkom-plek van mans.
sekkxotlô (7) Pe. : Bymekaarkom-plek.
lekkxotla (5) Pe. : Hof.
seboya (7) So. *seboa* (7) Pe. : Dorsvloer.
sebaha (7) So. : 'n Danspiek, 'n Kraal.

Die voorbeelde dui m.i. aan dat plekke waar 'n gewoonte-handeling uitgevoer word gereken word in hierdie klas van selfstandige naamwoorde, n.l. klas sewe. Dit versterk meteens die vermoede dat selfstandige naamwoorde wat handeling aandui in die klas gereken word. Omdat dit gewoonte-handeling is. 'n Mens sou dan ook geneig wees om aan te neem dat die selfstandige naamwoorde wat die resultaat van handeling

aandui in die klas gereken word omdat hulle die resultaat is van gewoonte-handelinge.

8. Verder kry ons ook dat die klas attribute aandui van 'n persoon of groep van persone, of van 'n ding of groep van dinge, d.w.s. alles wat aan 'n persoon of ding, of groep van persone of dinge, eie is, soos dit blyk uit die volgende voorbeelde :

serwa (7) So. : Aard en taal van die Boesmans.

morwa (1) So. : 'n Boesman.

senona (7) Tšw. : Alles wat tot 'n man behoort, Aard en wese van 'n man.

monona (1) Tšw. : 'n Man.

senna (7) Pe. : Aard van 'n man, Manhaftigheid, Krag.

monna (1) So., Pe. : 'n Man.

bonna (14) So., Pe. : Manlikheid, Manlike staat.

sesadi (7) So. : Vroue-aard, Vroue-gewoonte.

mosadi (1) So., Pe., Tšw. : Vrou.

nku (9) So., Pe., Tšw. : skaap.

senku (7) So. : Gewoonte, Aard van skape.

seémó (7) So. : Natuur, Aard, Stand.

seéma (7) So. : Vergadering van mense.

Pe. : Spreuk. (Versameling van woorde).

leémó (5) Pe. : Grootte.

leémé (5) So. : Partydigheid.

moémi (1) So. : Iemand wat staan.

seburu (7) So. : Boere-aard, -gewoonte, -taal.

leburu (5) So. : 'n Boer, Afrikaner.

Sekhowa (7) So. : Taal, Gewoontes en aard van Blankes.

Sekxowa (7) Pe., Tšw. : Taal, gewoonte en aard van Blankes.

Lekhowa (5) So. : 'n Blanke.

Lekxowa (5) Pe., Tšw. : 'n Blanke.

Sesotho (7) So. : Taal, aard en gewoontes van die Basoeto en alles wat met hulle in verband gebring word.

mosotho (1) So. : 'n Lid van die Soeto-volk.

Lesotho (5) So. : Basoetoland.

senyamatsane (7) So. : Dierlikheid, Dieragtigheid.

bonyamatsane (14) So. : Woestheid, Wildheid, Dierlikheid.

nyamatsane (9) So. : Wild, Wildedier.

serwêtsana (7) So. : Aard en gewoonte van meidjies.

morwêtsana (1) So. : 'n Meidjie.

borwêtsana (14) So. : Meidjiesjare.

- sebele* (7) Pe. : Persoonlikheid, aard en karakter van 'n persoon.
- mmele* (3) Pe., So. : Liggaam van 'n mens.
- setlou* (7) So. : Aard van 'n olifant, alles wat met olifante in verband gebring word.
- tlou* (9) So., Pe., Tšw. : Olifant.
- sehaeso* (7) So. : Gewoontes en aard van ons familie.
- sehaeno* (7) So. : Gewoontes en aard van julle familie.
- sehahabo* (7) So. : Gewoontes en aard van hulle familie.

9. Waarskynlik het verder hieruit ontwikkel die gebruik om groepe van persone en dinge wat dieselfde gewoonte aard en eienskappe het onder hierdie klas tuis te bring. (Dit lyk of die gebruik in Sesoto sterker na vore tree.) Vergelyk die volgende voorbeelde :

- sehwêra* (7) So. : Seuns wat saam die besnydenis deurgemaak het.
- mohwêra* (1) So. : Seun wat die besnydenis-seremonies ondergaan.
- bohwe* (14) So. : Seuns in die ontgroeningskool.
- moxwêra* (1) Pe. : Vriend, Kameraad.
- boxwêra* (14) Pe. : Kameraadskap.
- boxwêra* (14) Tšw. : Ontgroeningseremonies.
- sethšó* (7) So. : Jongmense, Die jeug.
- moša* (1) Pe. : Knaap.
- sethšaba* (7) So., Pe. : 'n Stam, Volk, Ras.
- lethšaba* (5) So. : 'n Nasie.
- sehlóbó* (7) Pe. : 'n Soort.
- mohlóbó* (3) Pe. : 'n Soort, 'n Stam.
- setswaló* (7) Pe. : Sibbe.
- setsaló* (7) Tšw. : Kinders van een moeder.
- setswadi* (7) Pe. : Iemand wat baie kinders het.
- motswadi* (1) So., Pe. : Verwekker, Baarster.
- motsadi* (1) Tšw. : Verwekker, Baarster.
- Tswala* (9) Pe. : Baarmoeder.
- motswala* (1) Pe., So. : Neef. (Vaderssusterskind en moedersbroerskind.)
- motswaló* (3) Pe. : 'n Bloedverwant, Neef, Boesemvriend, Generasie.
- sefika* (7) So. : 'n Hoop klippe.
- sehikantšwe* (7) Tšw. : 'n Hoop klippe.
- lehika* (5) Tšw. : 'n Rots.

- lefika* (5) Pe. : 'n Rots.
lefika (5) So. : 'n Rots.
seloko (7) So. : Stam, Familie, Sibbe.
moleko (3) So., Pe : Familie, Sibbe.
sethó (7) Tšw. : 'n Stam. (deel van groter geheel).
 So., Pe. : 'n Liggaamsdeel, 'n Lidmaat.
nthó (9) So. : 'n Ding.
sekete (7) So. : Duisend.
lekete (5) So. : Die Waarheid.
 Tšw. : Swaarheid, Gewig.
bokete (14) So., Pe., Tšw. : Swaarheid.

Dis waarskynlik om die rede dat ons 'n klompie kollektiewe selfstandige naamwoorde in die klas kry :

- sebetiśla* (7) So. : 'n Groot hoeveelheid mense of beeste.
seśma (7) So. : 'n Vergadering mense.
seqhoqho (7) So. : Baie mense of diere bymekaar.
sekhomatha (7) So. : 'n Kompakte massa dinge (bv. bye.).

10. *Instrumente* word ook in die klas geplaas. Vergelyk die volgende voorbeelde :

- sedimo* (7) Pe. : 'n Orakeldier. 'n Middel waardeur die wil van geeste aan die mens bekend gemaak word.
sedimo (7) Tšw. : 'n Gees, 'n Plek waar vleis gekook word van 'n dier wat deur honde doodgemaak is.
modimo (1 & 3) So., Pe., Tšw. : Gees, God.
seaxó (7) Pe. : 'n Gebou. Die meervoud hiervan *diaxó* beteken egter ook boumateriaal.
moaxi (1) Pe. : 'n Bouer.
seaxi (7) Pe. : 'n Messeelaar.
leaxó (5) Pe. : Aangename woontoestande.
leahó (5) So. : Tuiste, Lewe.
seféhló (7) Pe. : 'n Boor.
seféhléló (7) So. : 'n Boor.
moféhli (1) So. : 'n Persoon wat vuur boor, wat karring.
seaparó (7) So. Tšw. : Kledingstuk, Iets waarmee die liggaam bedek word, halsband, amulet.
moaparó (3) So. : Manier van aantrek.
moapari (1) So. : Iemand wat aantrek
sebatoló (7) So. : Klip waarmee dinge geslyp word.
mobatoli (1) So. : Skerpmaker;

- sebeta* (7) So. : Wapen, Arm.
sebetša (7) Pe. : Wapen.
sebetšô (7) Tšw. : Slaangereedskap, Strafmiddels.
mobetsi (1) So. : Iemand wat gooi.
mobetši (1) Pe. : Skut. (*mmetši*.)
sebetši (1) So. : Iemand wat goed gooi.
sebolaya (7) So. : 'n Moordtuig.
sebolaô (7) Pe. : Wapen, Moordtuig.
sebolaô (7) Tšw. : Wapen.
sebolaya-bana (7) Tšw. : Elmboog.
mmolai (1) So., Pe., Tšw. : Moordenaar.
polaô (9) So., Pe., Tšw. : Doodslag, Moord.
polai (9) Pe. : Oogtand, Slagtand.

Selfstandige naamwoorde wat instrumente aandui kan in groot getalle opgenoem word.

11. In die klas vind mens ook nog woorde wat *liggaamsdele* aandui. Bo het ons gesien dat liggaamsdele soos arm, elmboog, as instrumente opgevat word. Dit is waarskynlik om die rede dat sulke dinge in hierdie klas van selfstandige naamwoorde gereken is. Vergelyk ook die volgende voorbeelde :

- seamohêlô* (7) So. : Dit waarmee 'n mens ontvang, Hand.
moamohêdi (1) So. : Ontvanger.
kamohêlô (9) So. : Ontvangs (van gaste), Gêsvryheid.
seatla (7) So., Pe., Tšw. : Handpalm, Hand.
maavla (6) Tšw. : Albei handpalms.
matla (6) So., Pe., Tšw. : Krag.
katlêhó (9) So. : Geluk.
katlêxó (9) Pe. : Vermeerdering.

Afgelei van die werkwoord *atla* : Laat gedy, Laat suksesvol wees, gelukkig te maak.

12. *Plante* word ook onder die klas tuisgebring :

- sehwêté* (7) So. : 'n Soortnaam vir 'n groot aantal eetbare wortels en bolle.

- sehwêté-hlohwana, sehwêté-mohlaka, sehwêté-moru, ens.*
sexwêté (sexôté) Tšw. : Eetbare wortel.
sehlôhlô (7) So. : 'n Soort papawer.
sehlôhlô-se-seholo (7) So. : 'n Soort papawer.
sexope (7) Tšw. : 'n Soort struik.

- sexowe* (7) Tšw. : 'n Soort gras.
sehlare (7) Pe. : Boom, bos, struik, medisyne.
mohlare (3) Pe. : 'n Boom.
lehlare (5) Pe. : 'n Groen blaar, 'n Takkie.
Sehlare (7) So. : Medisyne.
sethlare (7) Tšw. : 'n Boom.
sehala-hala (7) So. : Soortnaam vir baie plante.
sehlatswa-meno (7) So. : Bossie gebruik om tande mee te was.

Plantename word in groot aantalle in die klas aangetref. Plante is voorwerpe waarmee gewoonte-handelinge uitgevoer word: dit word gebruik as medisyne. Waarskynlik word plantename onder die klas gereken juis om die rede.

13. *Diere*-name word ook tot die klas van selfstandige naamwoorde gereken:

- se-loma-matswêlê* (7) So. : 'n Soort sprinkaan.
se-loma-basadi (7) So. : 'n Soort tor.
selêma (7) Pe. : 'n Skeeftoringdier.
molêma (3) Pe. : Skuinsheid.
bolêma (14) Pe. : Skeefheid.
sephookò (7) So. : 'n Soort uil.
seboba (7) So., Pe. : Steekvlieg, Perdevlieg, Muggie, Bosluis.
 vergelyk: *bobola* : brom, zoem.

Die voorbeelde dui aan dat die selfstandige naamwoorde name is van diere en insekte, wat aan die dinge gegee is as gevolg van hulle aard en voorkoms. Die naam van elke dier is 'n beskrywing en weergawe van die dier se karaktertrekke. Die neiging het ons reeds gemerk in voorbeelde wat bo aangehaal is: *selalome* (7) So., Tšw. : 'n Wildedier, 'n Woeste, wrede persoon: *seoka* (7) So. : 'n Groot os, ding of persoon.

Diere kan egter ook hieronder gereken word omdat hulle as instrumente gebruik word., net soos plante. Vergelyk die volgende: *sedimo*, Bl. 11. Diere wat vir offerandes gebruik word is voorwerpe waarmee gewoonte-handelinge uitgevoer word.

Na aanleiding van die voorgaande uiteensetting sou 'n mens tot die gevolgtrekking kan kom dat die *se*-klas name van die volgende insluit:

1. Dinge, waarskynlik na aanleiding van hulle voorkoms en geaardheid.

2. Mense wat as gevolg van hulle ding-agtigheid of bespotlikheid hierby gereken word. Die idee van ding-agtigheid het aanleiding gegee

tot die ontstaan van die begrip van buitengewoonheid, grootheid; nie alleen ten opsigte van mense nie maar ook ten opsigte van diere en dinge.

3. Persone wat gewoonte-handelinge uitvoer (ambagsmense) of handelinge uitvoer volgens aard. Dit gee aanleiding tot die sortering hieronder van a. Gewoonte-handelinge, b. Resultate van gewoonte-handelinge, c. Plekke waar gewoonte-handelinge uitgevoer word.

4. Eienskappe, aard en wese van persone of dinge, of van groepe van persone of dinge.

5. Groepe van persone wat bymekaar gereken word op grond van ooreenstemmende eienskappe en gewoontes, en wat ooreenstemming vertoon in hulle aard.

6. Diere en insekte wat 'n bepaalde aard of neiging het.

7. Instrumente, waarskynlik omdat met hulle sekere gewoonte-handelinge uitgevoer word.

8. Liggaamsdele, waarskynlik omdat hulle as instrumente opgevat is, waarmee gewoonte-handelinge uitgevoer word.

9. Plante waarmee gewoonte-handelinge uitgevoer is en ook diere.

Opmerking :

Dit lyk of die grondbetekenis van die voorvoegsel is: Aard, Karakter, Wese, Gewoonte.

SUMMARY

This study is an investigation into the function and meaning of the prefix of the seventh class of nouns of the Sotho-Tswana Group of Bantu Languages.

With this end in view the author collected a number of roots which could take several prefixes before it, and in nearly each case it was found that the general meaning of a root was qualified by the prefix which was connected to it.

It seemed to the author that the original meaning of this prefix was : Nature, Kind, Character, Custom, and that the following were classified thereunder :

1. Things, probably on account of their nature and appearance.

2. Human beings which were felt as things as the result of some physical or mental deformity, or as the result of some outstanding peculiarity. This gave rise to the use of this prefix as an Augmentative.

3. Human beings that perform actions in accordance with their habits or customs (Artisans). This gave rise to the classification hereunder of: a. Habitual or customary actions,

b. Results of habitual or customary actions,

c. Places where habitual or customary actions are performed, or places where actions are performed habitually.

4. Characteristics, habits and natures of persons or things, or of groups of persons or things.

5. Groups of persons which form a unit as the result of uniform habits, customs and natures.

6. Animals and insects which are named according to their habits or natures.

7. Instruments: things with which habitual or customary actions are performed. (Also animals and plants).

8. Limbs, probably because they were felt as instruments with which habitual actions were performed.

9. Plants and animals with which habitual actions were performed: medicine and offerings.

THE LOVEDU

By FERDINAND KRUGER

The Lovedu are a Bantu-tribe residing in the East of the Northern Transvaal. The history of the tribe which is published here is the work of a Lovedu. With assistance of a number of old Lovedu-men and some teachers I tested the facts and rewrote the whole paper in correct Lovedu-dialect. The translation given by me is as literal as possible.

Vowels : *a, e, i, o, o, u.*

Semivowels : *y, w.*

Consonants :

Nasals : *m, n, ɲ* (dental) *ɳ* (velar).

Fricatives : *v, f*, (both bilabial) ; *z, s* ; *ʒ ʃ* ; *hh*,¹ *h* ; *l, ɭ* (dental) ;
*ʟ*² ; *r*.

Plosives : *b, p* ; *g, k* ; *d, ɗ* (dental) *t, ʈ* (dental).

Affricates : *tsh, tʃh.*

Diacritical letters :

h after a symbol=aspiration.

w after a symbol="back labialization."

y after a symbol="front labialization."

y after a nasal=palatalization.

¹ *hh* voiced aspirate *h*.

² I see A. N. Tucker, M.A.—*The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages*, p. 48, 143. London 1929.

VALOVEJU

1. *khetšhava kha valovelu khe tšholekhile gua lešagoni la vokhalaga. ga fhao e rehho hhê motho wa volovelu a khe lotšha va re : “ mmalo, molo-velu, mmalo makhulaga, motho wa leḡaža, motho yo a voahho vokhalaga !” hhabé ge “ ligolové za hha—mohhale.” va re tšhava kha volovelu khe gwa hhôna.*

2. *va re khosi ya hhôna e vé e née varwa va vaveli. hhundonu yo momyé a fhiwa bula. ga morakho yo mohholo a thamêla khelo kha yo mothokho. a ya hho hhobela bula hho monnahhavô. hhundonu moratho wahhwé a hhana hho mo fha bula. mohholo a mo zohhêla ga marumô. moratho a tšhava, a leva thogo yeenoya hhejimo, a wêla molabó wa levêbé la vokhalaga. mo zeleni va arohhana zwiriba zwi zwivili. khe khemyé kha leva thogo ya vorwa. kha ahha gua vyaḡali e vehho khetšhava kha mama-volo. le vóna ge “ ligolove ža maḡaži.”*

3. *hhundonu valovelu vona va vé va khe nyaga šagó la hho nakha le le vehho le mavu a hho nakha, le nahho le zwiolo. va vé va khe romêla maso-hhana hho va éda bele hho nyaga lešagó le le vyažé. hhundonu vóna ya re hhê va fhirile lešagoni la važwêḡa va khumana lešago—šagó le le vehho le merula le zwiolo gwa thogo ya vogwažazi vya thava ye momose a ahhilewêhho “ medingen” e lehho gua khumeloni.*

4. *vóna va khumana hho ahhile khetšhava khe tshemyé khe khe vižwahho kha hha—kheoḡga. hhundonu vatho vao va vé va kha zeve molló. va vé va khe la zwiḡewa zwóṡhe zwa vóna zwi kha abeewa. va zwi la vyayé ga zwiphóḡfhóḡ.*

THE LOVEDU

1. The Lovedu-tribe took its origin in Mashonaland. Therefore, when a Lovedu salutes, they say :“ In truth, Lovedu, in truth Khalaga,¹ person of Ledaža,² person who comes from Mashonaland ! ” Further-more they are “ the Pigs of Mohale.”³—They say there is the home of the Lovedu.⁴

2. They say the king there had two sons. Now one of them⁵ was given the rain.⁶ Afterwards the elder brother desired the thing of the younger one. He went to ask his younger brother for the rain. But the younger brother refused to give him the rain. The elder brother rose against him with spears.⁷ The younger brother escaped southward,⁸ he crossed the Limpopo-river of Mashonaland. On the way they separated into two groups. One tended towards the South and settled at Vyaḍadi⁹ namely the Mamabolo-tribe. They are also “ Pigs¹⁰ of Maḍaži.”¹¹

3. Now the Lovedu were looking for a nice country with fertile soil and with ant-hills.¹² They sent the young men in advance to look out for such a country. And indeed—when these passed Vendaland they found the right country having merula-trees and ant-hills in the east of the mountain where there is established “ Medingen ”¹³ to-day—namely at Khumelo.¹⁴

4. They found that there was living another tribe called that of Kheoga.¹⁵ Those people did not know the fire. They ate all their food unboiled. They ate it just like the wild animals.

¹ Name for the inhabitants of Mashonaland.

² See later the praise-names of the kings.

³ Name of chief.

⁴ I was given the following explanation of the word “ Lovedu ”: *Volovedu hhe kho khe fhedolwa ge hore : mo kho lovahho zwilō, e lēkho vathu le likhomu le riṅgu.*—Lovedu means : there where things namely persons, cattle, goats and sheep are being brought as offerings.

⁵ The younger one.

⁶ The instruments and formulæ to prepare the rain-medicine.

⁷ Chief weapon.

⁸ Literally : upwards.

⁹ Mountains near Haenertsburg.

¹⁰ Lovedu and Mamabolo praise the same animal : the wild pig.

¹¹ See later the praise-names of the kings.

¹² Ants=a delicacy.

¹³ Mission Station.

¹⁴ Name of mountain.

¹⁵ Another Bantu-tribe.

5. *valovelu va va vužisa hore va phela vyani nqé le molló. va hha—kheóga va re : “ molló ge eni? o liyani? ”—valovelu va re : “ re óra molló le hho abea zwišewa ga wóna. ge hhe va fha zwišewa zwe zwi abiilwé-hho ga wóna. hhundonu hhé va lle, va dwa zwi khe dšha. va lóba va hhobéla molló hho valovelu. va rada hho abea ga wóna le hho óra. hhe o phimile va voéla hhabé hho hhobéla molló. hhundonu va khe diya ga wóna.*

6. *zweeno valovelu va vé va khe luméza lešagó le vođéle vya lóna. zweeno va rada hho le vosa. fhéla va sidwa ga hhovane va khumane le no veenyi. zweeno va liya maanó a hho liya ndwa hore va phađélé va hha-kheóga mo lešagoni.*

7. *hhundonu va hhobola hore marumó a vóna e ga va molló. ge hhé va khe laéla vařhaŋga hore va ziyé zwiša zwa molló. va montšha meze ya hhakheógo ga hho fhesa lešagó hore molló o dš fhesa le meze hho thihi le vatho. vařhaŋga va liya vyažé. molló wa swa mathogoni aao, wa fhesa meze. va hha—kheóga va vé va e gozeni e kholo. va gwa mezeni va šava. zweeno va řhóga mo va ga gwahho hhóna hhovane molló o thigile lešagó gamoga.*

8. *vq vamyé va naméla lithavana, vaa thuswa ge mafhiga a mahholo, mo molló o-sidwahho hho fhiřha hhóna. va vamyé va naméde mere. vóna va swa gamoga, ga hhovane maanye a vé a lelefihle hahholo, hhovane ho vé hho kheso ha swa hho dšha mathomoni. vatho va vanži va fa lefu la šoro. hhwa pholohha va khe gathe fhéla. le hhundonu vatho vao hha veso vaa va khetšhava. mológó wa vóna hha o eso wa dala hho tshwana le melógó e memye.*

9. *hhundonu lešagó la va la valovelu hho isa le momose. valovelu va khumana lešagó lavó ga hho zwi lwéla ga molló.*

10. *hhabé va re mo leédoni la hho gwa gua vokhalaga valovelu va ile va řhophéhha gudu hhe va khumane lešagó le le omiléhho e khe lešagó la maazi. melabó e mehholo e vé e hholé le vóna. va nyaga maazi a manži, va a šaya. khosi ya vóna va re o ile a khéthha masohhana hore a nyagélé khetšhava maazi. yéna a ya navó. va a nyaga. hhundonu va a šaya.*

11. *va re yena khosi o vé a tshwere khekhobo khe a khe fhilwéhho hho vobabaahhwé kha hho nesa bula. ge hhé a khe lega hho nesa bula hóna móówó. ga morahhonyana hha na bula e kholo, ya daza melabó le meedi. hhé va voéla gua megoveni va fhiřha va thabile ga maada. vatho va vóna maazi a hho nwa le hho abea zwišewa. va re e vé e mořhóló wa bele wa khosi yééwó hovane gua vokhalaga hho vé hho khe nesa vobabaahhwé.*

5. The Lovedu asked them how they managed to live without fire. The Kheoga said : " What is fire ? what does it do ? " The Lovedu said : " We warm ourselves by the fire and cook the food with it." Then they gave them cooked food. When they had eaten they found that it tasted sweet. So they asked the Lovedu for fire. They wanted to cook with it and to warm themselves. When it went out they returned again to ask for fire. Then they began to work with it.

6. Now the Lovedu desired the country and its wealth. They wanted to take possession of it. But they were unable (to do so), as they found that it had its possessors. So they planned to fight and to drive the Kheoga out of the country.

7. Now they thought that their weapons could be the fire. So they ordered the young men to seize fire-brands. They surrounded the villages of the Kheoga to set fire to the country that the fire might burn the villages together with the people. The young men did so. The fire burnt everywhere and laid the villages in ashes. The Kheoga were in great distress. They left their villages and fled. But there was no spot for them to get away, for the fire surrounded the whole country.

8. Some ascended the hills, they were protected by the large rocks, where the fire could not come. Others climbed upon trees. These burnt altogether, for the grass was very tall, for it had not been burned since the beginning. Many people died a terrible death. Only very few escaped. Even to-day these people have not yet become a tribe again. Their kin has not yet increased similar to others.¹⁶

9. So the country became property of the Lovedu until to-day. The Lovedu gained their country by fighting for it with fire.

10. Furthermore they say that on their journey from Mashonaland the Lovedu were in great troubles, when they found a dried-up country—a country without water. The large rivers were far from them. They were looking for much water and did not find it. It is said that their chief chose young men to look for water for the tribe. He himself went with them. They were searching but they missed it.

11. They say that the chief had taken with him the calabash which his father had given him to produce rain. So he tried to make the rain fall where they were. After a little while there fell a heavy rain and filled all the rivers and watercourses. When they returned to their shelters, they arrived wet to the skin. The people got water for drinking and cook-

¹⁶ They have inter-married with the Lovedu and other tribes.

12. *leina la khosi e lóvilékho vokhalaga ya bele ge magaphele. ge yéna yo a žerehho šago la va hha—kheōga ga hho lwa ga mollo. khosi ya voveli ge mohhale. hha hho zevye zwezwinži zwahhwé.*

13. *khosi ya voraró ge “kheale kha mmamohhale a leđaza.” ge kherédó khahhwé. yéna o nesiže bula hho tshwana le vo—makholo—ahhwe.*

14. *khosi ya vone ge “phedola—khefhedola—maru—a—đaza.” ge kherédó khahhwé. va rēdwa ga maru, va re : va fhedola maru hho nesa bula.*

15. *Yena phedola o vé a née nwanavó e vehho mohholwane. é ile hhé khosi a e khaufhi le hho đohha, a fha morwa yo mothokho lenaga la bula. fhéla vatho va vé va khe a zwi zeve hhore khosi e mo fhile naga la vohhosi. zweeno va hhobola hhore khosi e mo fhile naga la vohhosi. zweeno va hhobola hhore va đo khumana yo a veho le leina le lehholo la vohhosi hhore e đo va yéna e a tshwerehho naga la bula. leina la yo mohholo e vé e mađaze, la yo mothokho e vé e makhoba. hhundonu va re “khosi ge mađaze ! o đo đaza melabó ga maazi a bula. hhé e le makhoba ge hhore o đo khoba melabó, hhundonu va thóga maazi.” ge hhore va khe thakhaléla mađaze hhore e vé khosi yavó.*

16. *zweeno va phađéla yo mothokho hhore a đohhé lešagoni la volovelu. yéna a đohha le khethópha khe khe mo fholofhéđéhho. a rodohhéla gua đedólo, a fhiḡha nareni, a yaa lula thavaneni ya khevela.*

17. *zweeno gwa volovelu mađaze a sidwa ge hho nesa bula. lešagó la hhóna la va lešago la ležaži le đala ga mažaži. ga gua hha khevala bula e na ga mažaži ga memyaahha yóthé e le lešagó la mavéle ga hhovane hho vé hho khe na bula.*

18. *zweeno vakhómaana va volovelu va thóma hho lla le hho veleela ga hhe va khe a zeva hore makhoba ge yéna va mo fhilého naga la bula.*

ing. It is said that this was the first miracle of that chief, for in Mashonaland his brother had produced the rainfall.

12. The name of the first chief who left Mashonaland is Magaphele. It was he who took possession of the country of Kheoga by fighting with fire. The second chief is Mohale. There is not much known about him.

13. The third chief is "Kheale kha Mmamohhale a Leḍaḍa."¹⁷ This is his praise-name. He produced rainfall just like his fore-fathers.

14. The fourth chief is "Phedola-Khefhedola-Marua-a-ḍaḍa."¹⁸ This is his praise-name. They praise them on account of the clouds, they say: "They transform the clouds so that the rain must fall."

15. He—Phedola—had a son who was the first-born¹⁹ When the king was about to die, he gave the younger son the rain-horn. But the people did not know that the chief had given him the horn of chieftainship. They thought that they would find that he who had the great name of chieftainship²⁰ would be he who had received the rain-horn. The name of the eldest son was "Maḍaḍe" (the Filler) that of the younger one was Makhoba (the Finisher). Therefore they said: "Chief is Maḍaḍe! He will fill the rivers with rain-water. As to Makhoba that means he will empty the rivers, so that we shall have no water." Therefore they proclaimed Maḍaḍe their chief.

16. They drove the younger brother away so that he had to leave the Lovedu-country. He left together with the troop which trusted in him. He went upwards and came to "Nareni"²¹ and settled on the mountain of Khevela.²²

17. Now in Loveduland Maḍaḍe was not able to produce rainfall. That country was a country of sunshine and hunger without intermission. There at Khevela rain was falling continuously every year; it was a country of corn, for the rain was falling.

18. Then the head-men of Loveduland began to cry and to complain that they did not know that it was Makhoba who had been given the rain-

¹⁷ Unknown names

¹⁸ "Transformer—clouds are filled."

¹⁹ —and therefore heir to the Crown according to the law.

²⁰ See ¹⁹

²¹ "At the Buffalo" name of the country in the South of Loveduland from the name of the tribes living there. They praise the buffalo.

²² Near the confluence of the Selati and Olifant-river.

hhundonu va lagana hore a vižwé a voélé hhaye e vé khosi. gé hhé va khe roméla va vamyé va vóna hho mo hhobéla hore a voélé volovelu a qé hho va khosi.

19. *yena a hhana a re : “ le mphaqéde nga se thwé nkha voéla hhóna.” ge hhé va khe mo phéhkélela. hhundonu a re : nga voya vyani? mohholo-waga a gambolaya.” zweeno va re : “ re qo liya maanó hhorere mo phaqélé.” hhundonu a luméža, a qohha navo. hhe va khe fhiṭha gua nareni hha lezwaló va mo siya hhóna.*

20. *vóna ga hhovane va khe liya ga khephiri hho khosi maqaze—hhe va khe fhiṭha mozeni wa valovelu, va ya hho khosi va re : zeva, makhoba nwaneno o gwile ga marumó, o nyaga ho hhu volaya, o hhóna zeleni, o ya qá. é gwa ! u qohhé hore a khe hhu khumané ! ” khosi maqaze a re : nga qohha vyani? vathanga va qo ndwéla, ge qo va fhénya.” ge hhé va khe mo habeléža. va re : “ yéna o qá ga marumó a manži, re qo sidwa. é gwa khosi, u khudé, re re hhé re khe lwa navó, le hé va khe re fhénya va khe ge va volaya le wéna.” hhundonu khosi ya hhana.*

21. *ge hé vakhómaana va vamyé va khe hhoméla morahhó va viža khosi makhoba hore a no va a khe vaqaméla. hhé a sa qe a e khaufhi, va voéla habé hho khosi maqaze, va mo zivisa hhoré momose o sa qe a e khaufhi. “ é gwa, e yo khuda re re hé re khe lwa navó va khe ge va hhu volaya.” ge hhé khosi maqaze a khe luméža. a gwa mozeni wahhwé a lula lesolini. vosihhu khosi makhoba a zéna moženi vakhómaana va ya hho zivisa khosi ya vóna hore : monnahenu o žene mozeni ga lira. o ya hhu zoma ga vohhale, zohha re qo hhu sudiséža gua thaveni ya levaga.*

22. *ge hhe khosi a zohha, a ya thaveni yééwó. mo zeleni ya hho ya gua levaga hho vé hho née molabó o va rehho ge moqazwi. molabó óówó o vé o kha lumélélwa hho wélwa ge likhosi. zweeno e vé e khe re hhé khosi e ga o wéla, e ga se thwé e kha vosa khetšhava. o qo va a tšhinyaqe ga hho wéla malabó óówó. hhundonu hha liyéhha hhé a sa dé a o wéde va mo voža hore : zeva ga hhovane u wéde molabó o khe a lumélélwahho hho wélwa ge khosi, momose u ga se vé khosi yesu.*

23. *va mo qohhéla hhóna, va ya hhaye, va voswa ge khosi makhoba. hhundonu va mo vea leina la vo—makholo—ahhwé phedola—khefhedola—*

horn. And they planned to call him to return home and to become chief. So they sent some of them to ask him to return to Loveduland, to come and to be chief.

19. He refused and said : " You have driven me away, I can never return." Then they urged him. But he said : " How can I go ? My elder brother will kill me." They said : " We shall make plans to drive him away." Then he agreed and left with them. When they came to " Nareni ha Lezwalô "²³ they left him there.

20. They however—for they wanted to hide the facts to chief Maḡaḡe—when they arrived in the village of Loveduland, went to the chief and said : " Know ! your brother Makhoba left with warriors, he wants to kill you, he is on the road, he is coming ! Flee ! Go away that he may not find you." Chief Maḡaḡe said : " How can I go away ? The young men will fight for me, I shall defeat them." They however pressed him. They said : " He comes with many spears, we shall fail. Go away, Chief, hide yourself, that, when we are fighting with them, even if they beat us, they cannot kill you." But the chief refused.

21. Then some of the head-men went back, they called chief Makhoba that he might approach. When he was near, they returned again to chief Maḡaḡe and informed him that he was coming to-day, that he was near : " Go away, hide yourself that, when we are fighting with them, they may not kill you." Then chief Maḡaḡe agreed. He left his village and abode in a thicket. During the night chief Makhoba entered the village. The head-men went to tell their chief : " Your younger brother entered the village with an army. He will seek you with rage, rise ! we shall lead you away thither to the mountain of Levaga."²⁴

22. Then the chief moved off and went to that mountain. On the road to go to Levaga there was a river called Moḡazwi.²⁵ It was not allowed for the chiefs to cross that river. Whenever a chief crossed it, he was no longer able to rule over the tribe. He will be ruined by crossing that river. Now it happened when he just had crossed, that they said : " Know ! as you have crossed the river which may not be crossed by the chief, you cannot be our chief anymore.

23. They left him there and went home ; they were governed by chief Makhoba. They gave him the name of his ancestor " Phedola-

²³ A "buffalo"-tribe living near the Letaba-river.

²⁴ In the North of Loveduland.

²⁵ In the North of Loveduland.

maru—a—ḍaḍa. a vosa leṣagó, a nesa bula vyayé ga babaahhwé. vatho va mo rada ga maaḍa ga vaga la bula.

24. mafhéléloni a vohhosi vyaahhwé yéna o vé a née morwa. hhundo-nu morwa yówó a mo phelisa vyayé ga tshiwana, a mo ḥóya, a mo liya vyayé ga lehholu. hhahholo a vé a khe liya hhore vatho va khe lemohhe hhore khósi e ḍo mo fha vohhosi vyaahhwé. nwaana yówó o vé a ahhéḍwe ndó hholé le moze, a lula hhóna. o vé a khe re hé a khe ya hhaye a khe a žene kharoni babaahhwé o vé a mo liyéde zela e thokho ye e kha zevyehho ge motho. hhabé o vé a khere hhé moyanayo a khe ḍa hhare hha vatho ga zela yóna yéwo, khosi a mo thivéla. leina la nwaana yówó va re ge “mogódó wa leḍaḍa, mogódóthamodimesimo,” hhova “volaḍ vyatšhoma le vatho” hhova “mogódó—mme—a—phedola—khefhedola—maru—a—ḍaḍa.”

25. zwirédo zwéo zwi lumile gudu vohosini vyaahhwé. yéna e vé e khosi ya maaḍa le busó e thada, hhovane o vé a khe volaya vatho. hhabé o vé a khe volaya valoi le zwihóḍḍó le va va khumanwehho va khe aba maaga. gaḥholoni yaahhwé o vé a khe a diisa hho volaya vatho. va vamyé va vé va hhogwa lithamó, va vamyé o vé a khe va hhogéléla mafhiga, va va phóséza ga voliveni.

26. hhabé mogódó e vé e motho wa hho ḥhalefha mešumoni yaahhwé. khe khe ga vónwahho le momose mešumoni ya voḥhale vyaahhwé ge meahhó va meragó ye a e ahhiléhho ga voḥhale vyo voholo. mo ṣagoni motho hha a khumane meahhó e tshwanahho le yaahhwé. mo meahhoni yéwó hho khumanwa khe luló kha lefha khe khe veḍilwéhho zwa voze—voze. é vé e khe-luló kha khosi mogódó. va re : o vé a khe lula hha khóna, hhe a khe óréla leḗaḗi. le khona khe a magaḗa, khe veḍilwe ga voḥhale vyo vo-hholo. fhelo fhao e vé moze wa mosada, leina la hhóna va re ge levyeni. (va vamyé va re : meahó eya e ahhilwe ge kheale babaahhó mogódó.)

27. meḥheni ya khosi mogódó madona a maveli ahhwe a ve a vaga leṣagó. hhundonu hhé khosi a khe roméla vaḥhaṅga vaahhwé hho lamola phabanó yéo vóna va khumana hho zohhile ndwa. hhundonu va hhoméla hhaye hho zivisa khosi. zweeno khosi a gwa ga nnosi hhé a khe fhitha thaveni ya mmanobi a arola malira zwiriba zwi zwivili hho thiga meze ya madona aao. hhe a khe vóna hhore khosi e ḍile hho lwa navó va fyéhha hhore va ḍo volawa. hhundonu va lova monye wa vóna. va nṣa vanyana va vavili, va hhobéla hhore khosi a va tshwarélé votšhinyi vyówó. hhundo-

Khefhedola-Maru-a-*ǃaža*." He ruled the country, he made the rain fall like his father. The people loved him much on account of the rain.

24. Towards the end of his rule he had a son. This son—he made him live just as an orphan, he hated him and treated him as a thief. He did so especially for the reason that the people should not perceive that the chief wanted to give him his chieftainship. That child had a house erected far from the village, he dwelt there. When he wanted to go home, he did not enter by the main-entrance. His father had made a small path for him unknown to every body; furthermore when the child happened to come amidst other people on that road, the chief prevented him from entering. The name of that child was "Mogôdô, the cast-out, Mogôdô the neck with fat-wrinkles, or the resting-place for property and men,"²⁶ or Mogôdô-Mme-a Phedola-Khefhedola-Maru-a-*ǃaža*."

25. These praises were widely spread during his chieftainship. He was a powerful chief of severe government, for he used to kill people. He killed sorcerers and adulterers and people who were found telling lies. When judging he liked to pass sentences of death. Some were strangled. others were ordered to be burdened with stones and drowned in a deep place in the river.

26. Furthermore Mogôdô was a clever man in his undertakings. That what still to-day is to be seen of his clever undertakings is the stonework which he erected with great skill. In the country there are no buildings which are similar to his. Among these buildings there is to be found a stone-seat which is beautifully carved. It was the seat of chief Mogôdô, when he was basking in the sun. It surprises really, it was hewn out with great skill. On that place there was the chief-kraal, its name is Levyeni.²⁷ (Others say that those buildings have been erected by Kheale, the ancestor of Mogôdô).

27. In the days of chief Mogôdô two of his head-men quarrelled about their territories. Therefore the chief sent his young men to stop the quarrel; they however found that war had broken out. So they returned home to inform the chief. Now the chief set out himself. When he arrived at the mountain of Mmanopi²⁸ he divided his army into two divisions to surround the villages of those head-men. When they saw that the chief had come to fight with them they were afraid that they would be killed. So they submitted to their lord. They offered two

²⁶ Property and men have space in the wrinkles of his neck.

²⁷ "At the rock."

²⁸ In the East.

nu khosi a leža naga ya hho khovaganša malira aahhwé. hhe malira a khovagane fhelo hhothihi va vožwa hhore e fhéde. hhundonu khosi a žia naga yaahhwé ya marumó, a e leža, a phébêla. malira gamoga a a zosa zwirédó zwa hho réda khosi, va re : “mogódó thamo di mesimo, mogódó o fhola ga naga la bula. é le mogódó mme a phedola, a re : ge vólaya motho, o a volaya ; a re : ge a phelisa, o a phelisa.

28. ge hhé khosi a žia lerumó laahhwé a phébêla, a khe řhava fhase, a suba vogwažaži. a voža malira a re : “gua vogwažaži hho do gwa litšhosi ze lintsho. le řo lwa le žóna, hhundonu le řo li fhénya. ge moga a řhava fhase hhabé a suba vořhwažaži, a re : gua vořhwažaži hho řo gwa loménó le le khuvelu, hhundonu lóna le řo le fhénya hho isa le hho isa.

29. hhabé khosi mogódó a lwa le khašane morwa wa babaahhwé. hhundonu khašane a šavela gua lešagoni le le viřwahho tshwale. hhundonu va va mo viza hhore a řé a šule šagoni le lemyé le le viřwahho moluveni mo hho zohhiléhho monna o momyé e vehho mamadéba, morwa wa khašane yo a khumanéhho mafhogo a molimo gua Port Elizabeth yo a khumanwéhho a khe lwa le letšhwifhi meřheni ya morudi knothe le Reuter. a va a volawa ge khosi ya vovelu ya mosali e vehho masalanavo ga vaga la évařgeli.

30. mogódó o vé a née varwa va vaveli. hhé va khe vaga vohhosi vya babavó vohhosi vya fhiwa moroli waahhwé e vehho khosi ya mosali možaži wa bele. likhaizali za a ragwa šagoni ge mořhóló wa lehhabana le khesa kha molló zwi zwi vehho zwi khe lugiswa ga melemó ya hho phadéla vatho šagoni.

31. hhundonu khosi ya va možaži, a vosa lešagó la valovelu zwa voze vyayé ga babaahhwé. le yéna a volaya va va tšhinyahho e lehho valoi le makholu le va maaga. a nesa bula vyayé ga babaahhwé, a lorya ge makhosi ; a gwahho hholé ga makhumó a mehhuda—hhuda le managa a liřou a ; gwahho hha mazulu, hha sekhukhuni, hha ramabulana le hha řgunigunyane.

girls and asked that the chief might pardon them this trespass. Then the chief sounded the horn to assemble his troupes. When the troupes had assembled on one place, they were told that it was finished. Now the chief seized his war-horn, blew it and jumped about. All the troupes intoned praise-songs to praise the chief; they said: "Mogôdô, the neck with fat-wrinkles, Mogôdô, he rules with the rain-horn." It is 'Mogôdô-Mme-a—Phedola,' he says: 'I kill a person'—he kills; he says; 'I make live'—he makes live."²⁹

28. Then the chief took his spear, danced, pushed it into the ground and pointed to the East. He said to his warriors: "From the East there are coming black ants. You will fight with them, and you will defeat them." Then he pushed down again, pointed to the West and said: "From the West there will come red ants, these will defeat you over and over again."²⁹

29. Chief Mogôdô fought also with Khašane, the son of his father. But Khašane fled into the country called Tshale.³⁰ Then the people called him to come and stay in another country called Moduveni,³¹ where a certain man namely Mamadêba, a son of Khašane grew up, who found the Word of God at Port Elizabeth, who was found fighting against the darkness in the days of Rev. Knothe and Reuter.³² He was killed by the second female chief Masalanavô for the sake of the Gospel.

30. Mogôdô had two sons. When they quarrelled about the chieftainship of their father, the chieftainship was given his daughter who became the first female chief Možaži. The brothers were driven out of the country by the magic power of the little calabash³³ and the fire-stick³⁴ which had been strengthened with medicines of driving people out of the country.

31. So Možaži became chief, she was a good ruler over the country Lovedu like her father. She also killed the wrong-doers namely the socrers and thieves and liars. She produced rainfall like her father, she received homages of chiefs who came from far with treasures of different kinds and elephant-tusks—coming from Zululand, Sekhukhuni, Ramabulana³⁵ and Nguṅgunyane.³⁶

²⁹ A prophecy attributed also to the chief Sekhukhuni.

³⁰ In the West.

³¹ In the West.

³² Missionaries among the *Golovê*.

³³ The holy vessels of the tribe.

³⁴ The holy vessels of the tribe.

³⁵ In Vendaland.

³⁶ In Thongaland.

32. *ga vaga lēō kherédō kha khosi možaži khe re : “ možaži mma —la—khovēla, mošava—ndoni, ge lala zela, ge motholohhali, khe na molodi. ge mphaga wa qou, mmakhweleni wa khehhaqeni ; o la nama, mošava ndoni.*

33. *khosi ya voveli e vé e mmasala—navó. leina lēwó o le fhlwe ga va va hhwilēhho hhé a khe vewa vohhosi hhundonu le yéna o vosiže vyayé ga likhosi že limyé. khe-édō khahhwér khe re : “ mmasala—navó, u abé voya. wa aba mbé, khetšhava khe qo balagana. é le khosi khethubuli kha vokhalaga khe ilehho : ‘ vatho khe va rone (ge hhore : hha ge rade vatho). ga fheža ga hho gwa kheso ga mothana, ga re : vatho, nwaeni!’—khehholi, mma va ndeva mariža, ndevélélé ga belo ya lethóyó.”*

34. *mohhumahhali yōwóō o vé a nēe likhomu ža litshali že li hhamiwahho. hhundonu likhomu žéwo di vé di khe vižwa vothabó vya mosada. li vé di khe hhamiwa ge mokhómaana yo a khéthédwéhho hho li hhama. hhe li hhamilwe morwali wa mafhi o vé a khe re hho rwala, a a isa ga hhaye, e re hhé a khe fhagana le vatho, vóna va gwadame ga likhuru hho isa hhé a fhirile. é vé e mokhwa wa hho hhodisa zwišewa zwa khosi. é re he motho a ga éma ga maodo hhé mafhi a khe fhera khaufhi hhahhwé, e vé molado o mokholo. khomu zéwo li vé di khe a Lula šageni lethihi le khomu ža moze, li vé li khe Lula lii nosi.*

35. *hhabé khosi mmasala—navó o vé a fhoile valumeli. molumeli o vé a khe a lumélélwe hho žéna ga mozeni wa mosada. hhé molumeli a nēe dava hho e isa mosada, o vé a khe Lula ndé hha moze ga fhase hha more, a roméla mafhogo ga khevaga gua mosada.*

36. *khosi kheséthwane yo a vosahho momose le yéna a vižwahho možaži ge khosi ya voraró ya mosali. yéna o nesa bula. o amohéla valumeli hho žena khoroni le mozeni waahhwé o thakhaléla thudó. hho vile hho ahhlwe gérégé mo khoroni ya mosada. vana va mosada va žéna khególó ga daéló yahhwé.*

32. Therefore the praise-song of chief Možaži says: "Možaži—when the sun sets—trader in the hut;³⁷ I sleep on the road,³⁸ I am a widow,³⁹ I have no one who watches me. I am the elephant-knife on the hip in the sheath;⁴⁰ she eats meat,⁴¹ the trader in the house."

33. The second chief was Masala-Navô. She was given this name by the dead (queen), when she was raised to the throne. She governed also like the other chiefs. Her praise-song says: "Mmasala-Navô,⁴² speak good (words). When you are speaking bad (words), the tribe will split. It was the chief Khethubudi of Mashonaland who said: "I do not like the people.—Finally I got an ulcer on my back and said: 'People, scratch me.'"⁴³—The hawk, at which they look with fear, they look at me with hearts full of hatred."⁴⁴

34. This queen had milk-cows. They were called "the selected" of the chief-kraal. They were milked by a head-man who had been chosen to milk them. When they were milked, and the carrier of the milk was carrying it to bring it home—when it happened that he met people, they had to kneel down until he had passed. This was a custom to honour the food of the chief. When a person was standing when the milk passed near him, it was a great crime. These cows were not kept in one kraal together with the cattle of the village, but they remained separated.

35. Furthermore chief Mmasala-Navô hated the believers (in Christ). A Christian was not allowed to enter the chief's kraal. When a Christian had a case to be settled in the chief's Court, he had to sit outside the village under a tree; he sent his words through the messenger of the chief.

36. Chief Khesêthwane who governs to-day, and who is also called Možaži, is the third female chief. She produces rainfall. She allows the Christians to enter the official meeting-place and her village. She is fond of education. A church has been built near the meeting-place of

³⁷ It is not necessary that she goes round to "sell" the rain. People are coming to her to buy in her hut.

³⁸ Like a prostitute (?)—she was not married but is said to have had many lovers.

³⁹ Because she had no husband.

⁴⁰ Praise of her blood-thirstiness.

⁴¹ She killed her chief counsellor always after a short service.

⁴² "She who remains with them."

⁴³ That chief thought that he was able to live without needing other people, until he became ill and was unable to help himself. Then he was obliged to call for assistance.

⁴⁴ Praise of the cruelty of the Queen.

37. *khosi khesethwane mo mosada hha a lumélélé hhé motho a ga žéna a abere zwiéda maodoni—hhé motho a khe vadaméla khóró o tshwanéde hho gola zwiéda a zwi siyé mónó ndé hha khóró, a khóna a tske žéna ga khoroni.*

mathómó a mmuóó wa likhosi ža vasali gua volovelu.

1. *khosi ya mafhéléló wa monna ge mogódó. o ve a née varwa va vaveli e vehho malegudu le kheébe. hhundonu masohhana aao a vé a vaga vohhosi vya babavo, yéna a kha phelu. hhundonu va vé va née khaižali ya vóna, va vé va khe re ge možaži. ge hhé vohhosi vo khe fhiwa yéna hhore e vé mmusi wa khetskava. likhaižali žóna ža phadélwa.*

2. *hhé motho a khe fhiwa vohhosi volovelu o vé a tshwanéde hho fhiwa khesa kha molló le khetskobo kha maazi. zwéno va re va ile va fha khaižali khesa le khetskobo hhore a zwi isé hha malegudu, khaižali yo mohholo. hhundonu va re va vé va zwi liyile ga mikhóló ya melemo ye e réhho hhé motho a khe e levéléla ga maažo, a žhaguma žóhhó. hhundonu a va vyayé ga mophégó, a dohhéla maluló, a gwa, a ya šagoni le lemyé, a lula hhóna.*

3. *va re malegudu hhé a vone khesa le khetskobo a dohhéla lešago la vobabaahhwé a ya gua zwéda, a hhwéla hhóna. le kheébe morwa yo motho-kho yo a vagiléhho vohhosi le yéna o liyilwe vyazé ga yo mohholo. a dohhéla lešagó, a leva thogo ya thóvóló; hhundonu a hhwéla hhóna.*

4. *ge hhona vohhosi vya fhiwa moroli wa mogódó e vehho možaži wa mathómó. yéna a béba moroli wahhwé e vehho masalanavó. yéna a ladéla mmaahhwé vohhosini.*

5. *masalanavó o vé a khe na ywaana kho isa vokhégotomi vyaahhwé. moga o vé a née moratho wahhwé wa mosali. yéna o vé a fhiilwe waana vaveli. nwaana wa bele e vé e mosimana, wa vaveli e vé e monyana. va khétha nwaana wa monyana yo a vižwahho kheséthwane hhore e vé khosi. ge yéna možaži a kha vosahho le momose.*

the royal kraal. The children of the chief's kraal are attending school at her command.

37. Chief Khesêthwane does not allow that a person enters her kraal with shoes on his feet. When somebody approaches the main entrance, he must take off the shoes and leave them outside the main-entrance that he may be allowed to enter the meeting-place.

The beginning of the government of female chiefs in Loveduland

1. The last male chief is Mogôdô. He had two sons : Malegudu and Kheêbe. These young men quarrelled about the chieftainship of their father when he was still alive. Now they had a sister who was called Možaži. So the chieftainship was given her that she might be the ruler of the tribe. The brothers were driven away.

2. When a person is made chief in Loveduland, he must be given the fire-stick and the water-calabash. Now they gave the sister the fire-stick and the calabash that she might bring it to Malegudu, the elder brother. But it is said that they had been strengthened by magic charms which make a person mad who looks at them with his eyes. He will behave like a mad person, he will leave his home, go away and move to another country and dwell there.

3. They say when Malegudu had looked at the fire-stick and the calabash, he left the land of his father, went to Vendaland and died there. Kheêbe the younger son who had quarrelled with him about the chieftainship was treated in the same way as the elder one. He left the country went to Thôvôlô⁴⁵ and died there.

4. So the chieftainship was given the daughter of Mogôdô namely Možaži I. She had a daughter called Masala-Navô. She followed her mother in the chieftainship.

5. Masala-Navô had no child until her old age. But she had a younger sister. She had two children. The first child was a boy, the second one a girl. The girl-child called Khesêthwane was chosen to be chief. She is Možaži who governs still to-day.

⁴⁵ In Portuguese-East-Africa,

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Schnalze, ihre Natur, Entwicklaung und Ursprung, von Roman Stopa, Krakow.

A new worker in the difficult field of clicking languages claims our attention. "*Die Schnalze*" is a book showing infinite painstaking study of this subject from literature alone, by one who, at the time of writing, had never come into contact with the spoken languages. That the writer falls into many small errors, is natural, yet the collection and discussion of the views of many authors of different nations is a real contribution to our knowledge of the subject. Sometimes Mr. Stopa quotes from authors whose knowledge of clicking tongues was only second hand, without giving the original source of information, which is a pity. He is likewise inclined to attribute characteristics of one language to the whole group to which it belongs.

The chief value of the book lies in the comparison of the clicking languages of the South, with North African languages, particularly with Pygmy and Sudanic tongues. If Trilles, the author quoted as to Pygmy speech, is correct, it certainly shows remains of clicks, as well as certain other characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot speech. This information would be more satisfactory, if the particular language referred to were mentioned, as all Pygmies do not speak the same language. The points that Bushman and Hottentot have in common with Sudanic languages are well worked out, and deserve careful study.

The author's final attempt to associate different clicks with different expressions of feeling is far-fetched and unconvincing, likewise his theories as to the origin of clicks. It is to be hoped that Mr. Stopa will devote his industry and love of research to practical work with living Natives in future. He should go far there.

D. F. BLEEK.

Noma Nini: by B. Wallet Vilakazi, B.A. Printed at the Mariannhill Mission Press. n.d.

This work was entered for the third competition for prizes for books in African Languages, organized by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in 1933, and was adjudged worthy of a second prize—the highest type of award given in Zulu or any of the other languages eligible in that year; and the book we have before us represents substantially the manuscript as it was sent to the judges in

that competition. Unlike the same author's earlier *Inkondlo kaZulu*, this work is in prose, with the exception of some dedicatory verses at the beginning and some lines and stanzas in verse scattered through the body of the book, and offers us a good opportunity of comparing Mr. Vilakazi's prose style with his poetical language as we found it in the earlier work. The present reviewer feels that the comparison is in favour of the author's verse and that his prose, though good and clear, is pedestrian when compared to the flights of his poetic muse. The substance of the tale, though it offers scope for more than one exciting bit of handling, is treated on the whole with but little inspiration, and the style, especially in the conversational parts, seldom rises above the everyday, and often fails to do justice to the occasion. The usual fault of Bantu novelists, of characterizing types rather than delineating characters, is not absent here, and there is little of that rich dramatization of incident which we would expect from a representative of a people which possesses such fine dramatic instinct as do the Bantu. Nevertheless, the book is an addition, and by no means a slight one, to the exiguous volume of Zulu literature, and as such deserves a welcome and a word of appreciation. *Nangomuso!*

G. P. LESTRADE.

Les Races de l'Afrique : by C. G. Seligman. Préface et Traduction du G. Montandon. pp. 224. Paris, 1935; Payot. (Bibliothèque Scientifique). 20 francs.

The original English edition of this book, published in 1930, was reviewed in *Bantu Studies*, vol. iv (1930), pp. 71f. In the years that have followed it has continually proved itself to be the most useful short sketch available of African ethnography. This French translation is another indication of the widespread recognition the book has received. It has been improved by the addition of several illustrations of African types, including a few from South Africa supplied by Dr. van Warmelo; and the bibliography has been supplemented by titles from the relevant French, German and Italian literatures. It is a pity, however, that the opportunity was not also taken of bringing it up to date—a large number of recent studies of considerable importance are not listed at all. Tribal and personal names are spelt according to the conventional French orthography, with results that are not always particularly happy (e.g. Oumsiligadzi, Dzoungandaoua, Tchouana): but the translation on the whole appears to be well done, and should constitute a welcome addition to the French literature on the Natives of Africa.

I.S.

Rugwaro rwa Baduku (The Children's Book): by M. A. Hudson. Illustrated by Winifred Townsend. Longmans, 1935. Published price 6d.

This school primer is written in the new Shona orthography, in Zezuru, but containing at the end the Karanga and Manyika equivalents as well as the English translation of peculiarly Zezuru words which are not found in Karanga or Manyika. The matter is that usually found in the newer kind of book of this type, except that a somewhat greater amount of space seems to have been devoted to dealing with Native child-life—a welcome feature. The tales are well told, and the language is simple and good as well as idiomatic. Some of the illustrations of Native children are delightful. The book is well printed on good paper: but should, even at the cost of adding a penny or two to the published price, have had a stouter cover to withstand the handling it will receive under the conditions of Native school and home life. There are more misprints than a book for children can afford to have; and it seems a pity that the title of the book should have been printed in three places in the old orthography, and disjunctively, when the book itself is in the conjunctive new orthography.

The book is approved for school use by the Department of Native Development of Southern Rhodesia; but it should, even without this authoritative seal, meet with a good reception on its own no mean merits.

G.P.L.

The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa, by Percival Kirby. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford 1934. xix + 285 pages and 73 plates. Price 35/- net.

Professor Kirby, from whose pen we already have several important articles on the music of primitive peoples, here presents a comprehensive study of the musical instruments of the South African Native tribes. The appearance of his book I consider a milestone in the history of South African ethnology. It is, moreover, the first time that a comparative study of an important branch of Native culture has been undertaken and successfully completed. It is a particularly pleasing feature, too, that this valuable book has been attractively produced. On account of the 73 excellent photographic plates alone it would enrich any collection of books, and in addition the type is handsome, the paper of good quality, and the whole book neatly and well finished off.

The reader of Professor Kirby's book will be surprised at the variety of instruments at the disposal of our Natives. It will strike him even more forcibly that it is by no means merely noise-music that is played on them. The writer succeeds in making us understand that a considerable amount of artistic skill is required to make reasonably good Native music. Hence the young people who have any talent practise the drum and *mbila* as diligently as our own children the piano. The magnitude of the task which the author has tackled appears from the list of contents, in which the musical instruments are grouped in eleven different classes.

In entertaining vein Kirby tells about the dancing rattles, of which one variety is twisted round the legs of the dancer and the other shaken in the hand. These rattles are clattered and shaken particularly to drive an evil spirit out of a possessed person. He tells us of the *mbila* (kaffir piano), which is so skilfully made, and produces such a harmonious sound, that it has become the fashionable instrument of the Rand Native miners. Further he shows us how the woman beats the drum in conventional style. With reference to the bull-roarers which in other parts of the world fill the women with fear on account of their sound, he tells us that among all the South African tribes they have become a children's toy. Unfortunately it is not possible within the limits of this review to give more than a mere mention of the numerous interesting Native customs which are dealt with incidentally. But whatever instrument he is discussing, horns and trumpets, stringed instruments and reed whistles, the writer always tries to give us a peep into the social life of the Natives and to illustrate what particular social function the instrument performs.

In his foreword Professor Kirby tells us what object he had in mind in the course of his studies. He says: "I have, therefore, tried to trace, where possible, the history of the various types of musical instruments found in South Africa, using as a basis the wealth of historical material which the country is fortunate in possessing, together with the evidence of Native tradition and ritual. I have also endeavoured to indicate, as precisely as I could, the geographical and tribal distribution of the instruments, and likewise to secure their nomenclature, from which much may be deduced. Finally, I have, by personally studying most of the instruments under the guidance of Native experts, attempted to reveal their true nature, as well as the materials from which they are made and the manner of making them." Actually it would suffice to state that the author's endeavours outlined above have been crowned with a great measure of success, but perhaps a few further remarks on

my part may serve to give the reader a better understanding of the great service which Kirby has rendered us.

Firstly, I would like to mention the detailed description of the instruments themselves. He has spared no pains to search through old travels and missionary documents for mention of some musical instrument. Often he has discovered that such writers have either made inaccurate observations or simply copied other travellers. One feels immediately that Kirby knows everything from first-hand experience, and that he has complete command of his material. Philologists are indebted to him for the long list of names of musical instruments which is recorded here. It is noteworthy that he has even made use of rock paintings in his investigations on the development of the instruments.

Secondly, ethnologists will be grateful to the author for never omitting to talk of the function of an instrument. The amount of trouble he has gone to is evident, among other things, from the fact that he even tells about the secret of the *mashupijane* drum of the Transvaal Sotho, which is used for the initiation of young girls. And his information is pretty correct!

Kirby's conclusions in connection with the extension and distribution of the various instruments are also valuable. He points out, for instance, that the genuine wooden drum comes originally from the Northern Transvaal, and that there are two separate districts where the Pan-pipes is found, with a large intervening territory where that form of whistle is unknown.

Finally the book serves as an introduction to the music of the Natives. As we have already said it will without doubt contribute very much towards awakening interest in and appreciation of Native music.

Even in this excellent work there are a few inconsistencies. The writer derives the Swazi word *intambula* from the Portuguese term *tambor*: why not from the Afrikaans word *tamboer*? On the accompanying map showing the distribution of the various tribes the Ndebele are placed high up in the North of the Transvaal. When, then, did they migrate thither?

In conclusion I should like to congratulate the author on the completion of his great work, and I can assure him that the ethnologists will eagerly and profitably make use of it in the comparative study of the South African tribes.

W. EISELEN

U-Aggrey Um-Afrika (Aggrey the African), translated from C. Kingsley Williams' book into Xhosa by S. E. K. Mqhayi (Sheldon Press, pp. 147, 1935, 1/-).

Translations of standard English books into Bantu have hitherto been rarely undertaken, more rarely still by Africans themselves. In South Africa nothing of this sort has been done by a Zulu or a Sotho (Northern or Southern). In 'Tswana the late Sol. Plaatje blazed the trail with his translations of some of Shakespeare's plays, only one of which, *Diphòshò phòshò*, has so far been published. In Xhosa Tiyo Soga was a pioneer, producing his translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress* as far back as 1867. In Xhosa also a few small educational books on hygiene, farming and geography have been produced by Native translators from English originals. Of these Mqhayi translated a part of Dowsley's *Farming for Schools* in 1922. And now Mqhayi has added to his other literary achievements as novelist and poet by a splendid translation of Kingsley Williams' life of Aggrey.

Aggrey, who visited South Africa some years ago, captured the imagination of the African Native, and since his lamented death in New York in 1927 he has become the African's hero. The story of his life is a source of inspiration and encouragement everywhere in Africa; and this Xhosa translation should command a very wide appeal. Its appearance just now shows that the fears of a lethargy in Bantu vernacular literature are rapidly being removed. In the fields of Zulu and Xhosa especially today are signs of a literary awakening, poetry, history, biography and novels are fast appearing. This translation by Mqhayi should stimulate literary work for the Native writer in yet another direction—that of translation.

The Sheldon Press who have published this book are to be congratulated on a well-produced work, at the most reasonable price of 1/- which should bring a copy into every Xhosa home.

C.M.D.

Kwane, an African Saga, by P. A. W. Cook (Maskew Miller, Ltd. 1935), pp. 212, 4/6.

Dr. Cook has shewn his talent in a new light in the publication of this little romance of Native life before the coming of the White man. "Kwane" is an interesting story which holds the reader from beginning to end. The setting is in the Xhosa country and the hero is the Chief of the Gqunukwebe clan who have been living under the

protection of the more powerful Xhosa. The plot is woven around two main features—the love-jealousy of Wata, and the prevalence of witchcraft. The belief in and horror of the latter is strongly depicted, and the terrible destruction of life due to this belief is brought out—perhaps too clearly. The whole story is redolent of Native custom, which is handled in a sympathetic and understanding manner. The conversations of the various characters are well produced. This is a valuable contribution, in a lighter vein, to Bantu studies in South Africa.

C.M.D.

uSambulele, by A. I. Molefe (Shuter and Shooter, 1935), pp. 124.

Another welcome sign of the growth of Zulu literature. This little book, designed as a school reader, is printed in the new orthography recently settled for Zulu, and reflects great credit on printers and publishers. The book is arranged under more than 50 headings, providing convenient reading sections on a large number of subjects of special appeal to children. Various Native customs such as of cultivation, pottery making, food preparation, together with children's games and occupations, and accounts dealing with animals and insects, provide valuable material. The author's style is unique, the method of question and answer being largely used. In each section the narrator appears personally explaining the matter to the child seeking information. The Zulu is good and idiomatic; traces of Southern Natal or Xhosa influence are at times detectable. The book is well illustrated by 25 cleverly-drawn pictures by the Native artist, G. Bhengu.

C.M.D.

Incwadi Yezibalo Ezingcwele Elungele Abantwana,—The Children's Bible in Xhosa, pp. 129, eight coloured illustrations (Lovedale Press, 1935, 1/9).

This is a well-got-up edition of The Children's Bible, New Testament, giving the stories in Scripture quotation, each section having a short note of explanation added. The coloured illustrations from the Religious Tract Society greatly add to the attractiveness of the book. It seems a pity that this opportunity was not taken to put the scripture into the new orthography. Nevertheless we predict a wide circulation for the book, as the price is so reasonable,

C.M.D.

U-Mandisa, by V. N. M. Swaartbooi, pp. 64, paper covers (Lovedale Press, 1935, 6d.).

This is the story of Mandisa, the Bringer-of-Joy, from her babyhood until she became a teacher. A simply written account by Victoria Swaartbooi, the first woman novel writer in Xhosa. This is published soon after Miss V. Dube's *Wozanazo*, tales in Zulu. Miss Swaartbooi's little book is in the new Xhosa orthography, in the preparation of which she was helped by Mr. W. G. Bennie. This is a welcome indication of the activity in Bantu literature today.

C.M.D.

De nominale klassifikasie in de Afrikaansche negertalen: Academisch proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor in de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte aan de Roomsche-Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen, door J. Wils. N.V. Uitgeversmaatschappij "De Gelderlander," Nijmegen 1935. xv+522 pagina's, 3 kaarte.

Die skrywer van hierdie werk vertel ons dat sy huidige lywige en wyd-omvattende boekdeel 'n beperking van 'n nog ambisieuser-opgestelde en 'n inkorting van 'n nog breedvoeriger-uitgewerkte studie verteenwoordig, en slaag daar ontwyfelbaar in om die leser 'n behoorlike ontsag in te boesem vir sy moed en sy werkkrag, waarvan die uitvoerige en mooie bibliografieë wat deur die werk versprei is ruimskoots getuig. Of die waarde van die bydrae wat die onvermoeide outeur deur sy strewe aan die Afrikanistiek gelewer het nou enigins gelyk is aan die hoeveelheid moeite wat die skrywer hom in die bewerking daarvan getroos het is, om die minste daarvan te sê, hoogs twyfelagtig. Maar Dr. Wils het so hard gewerk dat 'n woord van waardering en dank vir sy ywer nie agterweê mag bly nie, ook al moet die kritiek op die resultaat van sy pogings ongunstig wees.

Na die gebruiklike voorafgaande stof kry ons in hierdie boek 'n inleidende hoofstuk oor die klassifikasie van die Afrikaanse negertale en 'n kort uiteensetting van die program van die studie. Dan volg hoofstukke oor Die Ekwatoriale en Bornoe-taalgroepe; Die denkvorm van die totemistiese en die matriargale stamme; Die Westelike Soedantale; Die nominale klassifikasie in daardie tale; Die Nilotiese tale; Die nominale klassifikasie in daardie tale; Die Bantoe-tale; Die nominale klassifikasie in daardie tale; en eindelik 'n hoofstuk oor Saamvatting en konklusies, waarin die outeur die deur kom, na hy meen, tereg bereikte gevolgtrekkings maak. Dan volg enige indekse, en aan die einde drie kaarte,

waarvan één, oor die woordorde in die Westelike Soedantale, oorspronklik skyn te wees.

Die hoofdoel en -strewe van die werk gaan blykbaar daarheen om te bewys 1ste dat die verskynsel van nominale klassifikasie as sodanig—in Afrika teminste—gekorreleer is met 'n s.g. matriargale kultuurkompleks, en 2de dat daar in nominale klassifikasie—ook weer teminste in Afrika—'n s.g. waarderingsmoment teenwoordig is. In hoofsaak is dit dus 'n poging om die kultuurkringleer toe te pas op die afrikanistiese taalgebied, en om aan die hand daarvan bewyse te soek vir 'n sakraal-georiënteerde taalspige by die inboorlinge van Afrika.

Of die uur vir dergelike groot sinteses nou alreeds geslaan het mag in die eerste plaas sterk betwyfel word. Ons is—en die skrywer laat tussen die reëls merk dat hy dit ook voel—nog lank nie waar ons behoort te wees nie oor die indeling en groepering van die Afrikaanse tale. Die kenmerke van die Bantoe—en, in minder mate, van die Hamitiese taalfamilie, is wel taamlik vasgelê, maar daar bestaan nog heelwat twyfel omtrent die juiste betekenis van die konsepsies vervat in die terme Bantoeïed en Niloties terwyl selfs van die Soedanse tale die kenmerke nog nie volledig en onverkenbaar uitgemaak is nie. Ook kan en moet die outeur weet dat die indeling van enige bepaalde taal by die een of by die ander taalfamilie soms 'n kwessie van die aller-neteligste orde kan wees, veral in die randgebiede van die groot taalfamilies. In die kulturele veld het ons dieselfde moeilikhede, miskien nog vergroot: daar is nog g'n algemeen-erkende klassifikasie van die kultuurkomplekse van Afrika nie, en nog minder is dit moontlik om een of ander bepaalde kultuurvorm onvoorwaardelik by een of ander kultuurgebied of -groep in te deel. Wanneer die outeur onder die omstandighede gewag wil maak van 'n korrelasie tussen n' bepaalde taalkundige verskynsel en 'n bepaalde kultuurvorm, dan moet hy heelwat meer bewysmateriaal lewer, of teminste aandui, sowel vir die trefwydte van die verskynsel asook vir die juisheid van die kultuurindeling. Daarby is dit nie genoeg nie om 'n paar tale, hoe tiperend die outeur hulle ook mag vind, te behandel, hoe uitvoerig ookal die behandeling is: daar moet bewys word dat die tale ook werklik tiperend is vir hulle groep, en daar moet g'n ruimte oorgelaat word nie vir die twyfel of die verskynsels wat in 'n bepaalde taal aangetref word wel in dieselfde mate en op dieselfde wyse in ander tale van die groep bestaan. Hierdie laaste beswaar geld by die resensent, wat hom spesiaal op die Bantoe-tale toegelê het en dit graag aan meer bevoegdes wil oorlaat om oor die nie-Bantoe-tale uit te wei, veral van Dr Wils se behandeling van die Bantoe-tale, waar van die drie tale

wat uitvoerig behandel word, één (Jaoende) 'n Noordwes-Bantoe-taal is en dus feitlik *ex-hypothesi* nie tiperend nie, één (Kwanjama) as Suidwes-Bantoe-taal ookal verdag is, en die derde (Roendi) gevaarlik naby die Noordergrens van die gebied van die Bantoe-taalfamilie lê. Hoekom hier nie liever meer sentrale tale behandel nie, waarvan die tiperende Bantoe-egheid onverdag is?

'n Nog groter en o.i. fatale metodologiese fout maak die skrywer egter wanneer hy sy idee van waarderingskategorieë in die nominale klassifikasie gaan toepas op die verskillende tale wat hy as voorbeelde kies, en die materiaal van daardie tale in die dwangbuis van sy *a priori* opgesette teorie wil inwring. Ons hoofkritiek gaan hier natuurlik ook alweer oor die behandeling van die Bantoe-tale. Mens sou verwag dat, waar die Bantoe-tale juis diégene is waarin ons in Afrika nominale klassifikasie in sy hoogste stadium van ontwikkeling vind, die outeur van 'n boek oor nominale klassifikasie in Afrikaanse tale juis aan die Bantoe-tale die breedvoerigste en intensiefste behandeling sou gegee het. Inplaas daarvan is die hoofstuk oor die Bantoe-tale amper die kortste in die boek. Waar hy ook self toegee dat die aard en wese van die nominale klassifikasie in die Bantoe-tale beter dan elders bestudeer en vasgelê is, sou mens tog ook weer redelikerwyse kan verwag dat hy sy materiaal sou rangskik aan die hand van die bestaande voorarbeid op die gebied, of anders sou bewys het dat daardie voorarbeid, om gegronde redes, foutief was. Van dit alles kry ons maar bitter min. Insteede daarvan word die Bantoe-materiaal net soas dié van die ander tale behandel. Die werk van Meinhof en ander Bantoe-grammatici, wat te oor bewys het dat daar g'n vaste prinsiep deur die nominale klassifikasie van die Bantoe-tale loop nie, met uitsondering van 'n paar klasse, soas die *mu*-klas vir persone, die *ku*-klas vir verbale infinitiewe, en die lokatiewe *pa*-, *ku*- en *mu*-klasse, word oor die hoof gesien, en die outeur rangskik die nomina van die Bantoe-tale in die deur hom subjektief-vooropgestelde waarderingskategorieë. Dit sou die outeur nou miskien kan waag as hy ons die garansie sou kan gee dat hy prakties met meerdere Bantoe-tale vertrou is, en dat hy sover tot hulle aard en wese ingedring het dat sy subjektiewe oordeel van gelyke waarde sou wees met bv. dié van die spreker van so 'n taal. Maar dit kan hy blykbaar nie, en dit kan mens ook nie billik van hom verwag nie. Maar dan mag hy hom ook nie oor die waarderingsmoment in dergelyke tale uitspreek nie, of hy sou ons die bewyse moet kan lewer dat bv. 'n Jaoende-spreker, 'n Kwanjama-spreker, 'n Roendi-spreker, dieselfde waarderingskategorieë voel en dieselfde nomina in daardie kategorieë indeel as hy. Ook dit doen hy nie. Hy kan dit ook hoogswaarskynlik nie doen nie.

Mag ons in alle vriendskappelikheid en kameraadskappelikheid aan Dr. Wils en ander taalpsigoloë wat hulle op die gebied van die Afrikanistiek wil begewe 'n versoek doen, dan sou dit wees om die psigologiese spekulasies waarmee hulle hulself nou besig hou vir 'n tydjie te laat vaar, en hulle skerpsin en werkywer in diens te stel van die beskrywende taalkunde van Afrika: nog soveel tale is min of sleg bekend, nog soveel grammatikale en leksikologiese werk val daar te doen, nog soveel tekste val daar te versamel of te redigeer, dat g'n enkele Afrikanis hoef te soek na 'n onderwerp vir behandeling nie. Die veld is ruim, die werkers is min: laat die paar wat daar is hulle kragte en hulle verstandelike uitrusting tog beter gebruik dan in diens van opgeskroefde teoriespinnery.

G.P.L.

Afrikanische Sprachen : Fante, by Norbert Wohlgemuth: No. 47 of Lautbibliothek, edited by D. Westermann. (Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1934).

This little publication of 17 pages gives examples of Fante in some 40 sentences in phonetic script, in current orthography and in German translation. They provide useful study material in the language. Some language notes are added.

C.M.D.

The Healdtown Xhosa Readers : Sub-Standards A and B (Anonymous), Standards I and II (by Rev. Candlish Koti). Illustrated by Winifred Townshend. Published prices 6d., 8d., 1s., 1s. 4d. respectively. Longmans, 1935-6.

These books constitute a new edition of *Longmans' Xhosa Readers*, which have long done useful service in Native schools. They are clearly printed, on good paper, are suitably bound to withstand the rough treatment to which such books are exposed, and have an attractive uniform cover-design. The illustrations are executed in black and white and also in a most effective two-colour process of black and orange-brown, and the artist is to be congratulated on her drawings, some of which are delightful and nearly all of which are both original and charming. The new Xhosa orthography is employed in the text, in which there are only a few though unfortunate misprints.

With regard to contents, the first book in the series deserves special mention, firstly for its useful short introduction on the teaching of reading (though why, since it is evidently intended for Native teachers, this

should have been presented in English and not in Xhosa is a little difficult to understand), and secondly for its up-to-date and effective method of construction and its excellent grading. By this method, pupils are, almost on the first page, given to read, not isolated letters and meaningless syllables, but simple words and even sentences built up on the five vowel-symbols and a minimum of consonants; and their interest, instead of being deadened by the drudgery of a meaningless task, is aroused and kept alive.

The other readers in the series follow a little more closely the type of such books, containing mostly lessons and stories about animals and people (there are a good few Xhosa versions of some of Aesop's well-worn fables), lessons about objects of daily life, etc. There is comparatively little direct reference to Native life in the books—one or two *iintsomi*, one or two sets of proverbs, riddles, jingles, animal- and bird-cries (an unusual and very welcome feature); but on the whole there is not enough of this sort of thing in the series as far as it has gone. It is to be hoped that, as further standards are added, this defect will be remedied. The Bantu, of all people, do not need to go to Greek or other European folklore for animal-stories, for tales with a moral relating to human conduct: they have sufficient cultural treasure of their own in that respect, ready to be drawn upon by those who are aware of it, if they wish their books to speak not merely the outer language of Bantu speech, but also the inner language of Bantu thought and feeling.

G. P. LESTRADE.

Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge. Von Paul Schebesta. Verlag Anton Pustet, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1934.

Pater Schebesta is already known through a previous work on the Bambuti, the Pygmies of the Congo forests. In the present volume, he describes the Negroes and Half-Dwarfs of the Ituri forest whom he met on the same journey of exploration. The book is illustrated by a hundred reproductions of photographs and three maps, of which, however, one is really only a diagram, whilst the other two would have been easier to consult if they had been reproduced on a larger scale. Provided one does not expect more than the author offers, the book is undeniably interesting and well worth reading. It must, however, be made quite clear that the author, in the course of his safari through the forest regions and the fringes of the adjoining savannas, has not been able to spend more than a few weeks with any one tribe, and thus can give us a thorough scientific study of none of them.

His book is written in the form of a continuous narrative of travel, beginning with the departure from Antwerp and the voyage up the Kongo to Stanleyville, the capital of the Ituri Province. Thereafter, it gives us a mixture of incidents of travel and anecdotes, facts and observations of economic, demographic and anthropological import, and general reflections and arguments on conflicting principles of Colonial policy. The book, thus, appeals to a variety of tastes and interests, and certainly awakens in the reader an eager desire for a fuller study and discussion of many of the topics cursorily touched on, as well as the conviction that these little-known forest tribes are well deserving of a thorough anthropological investigation. In short, the book is valuable as a general stock-taking in new ground, and as an indication of the wealth and variety of problems to be tackled.

Since this review has to be limited in space, I will content myself with drawing attention especially to two chapters, viz., Chapter 8, on "Die Ituri-Waldstaemme," which sums up the author's general conclusions on the several tribes of which he has given an account in Chapters 2 to 7; and Chapter 13, on "Weiss und Schwarz in Belgisch-Kongo," in which he discusses the working-out of the contact of Whites and Blacks under the influence of the new moral ideals in colonial administration, that received their chief impetus through the "mandate" doctrine of Native peoples being a "sacred trust of (European) civilisation."

In the eighth chapter, Pater Schebesta gives his reasons for thinking that, not counting the Pygmies, the forest-tribes must be regarded as the original inhabitants of the primeval forest—"original," at any rate, in the sense that they are not recent immigrants, pushed by stronger enemies out of the savanna or having sought refuge in the forest, but that the adaptation of their culture to their forest-environment proves their ancestors to have lived in these forests for thousands of years (p. 150). This is, for him, a special application of certain general principles, expounded most fully in Chapter 13, though colouring his outlook and judgment throughout, viz., the principles that so-called "savages" and "primitives" (*Naturvoelker*) are not devoid of culture (*kulturlos*), but at most are restricted or poor in culture (*kulturarm*); that their cultures are, not so much early stages in a uni-linear development leading to its culmination in European culture, as separate and parallel developments of culture, determined by environmental and historical conditions; and that every culture, whether primitive or advanced, is *vollwertig*, i.e., fulfils its function as a culture, when it enables a people to be successful in the struggle for existence, as determined by the *de facto* nature of its environment (*Umwelt*). From this point of view, the successful adapta-

tion of the forest-tribes to their forest-environment manifests itself in a noticeable uniformity of the inhabitants of the region, alike in physique and in culture. Linguistically, however, he divides the tribes (among whom at least 15 languages can be discriminated) into four groups, the Medje-Barumbi, the Mamvu-Balesse, the Babira-Bakumu, and the Babali-Balika, Wabudu-Bandaka.

As regards colonial and missionary policy, the same general principles lead Pater Schebesta to plead for respect for the Native tribes and their cultures. Colonisation aiming merely at exploitation of the human and natural resources of the colony for the profit and enrichment of the *entrepreneurs* of the colonising power stands morally condemned. In this connection, he illustrates once more how the building of railways and even of up-to-date motor-roads has been, and is still being, paid for by the lavish wastage of Native lives ; and how the attraction of wage-labour in European mines and towns combines with the pressure of taxation and other administrative compulsions, to separate the men for long periods from their families and from the tribal life, thus disrupting Native social organisation, weakening Native culture, and leading to the physical and moral deterioration alike of the women and children who stay behind, and of the men who go out into the compounds and slums of White industrial undertakings and settlements. He pleads for a policy which ranks human values first, and subordinates industrial and economic development of natural resources by European capital and science to the material and mental improvement of the condition of the Native peoples. "Colonisation is never unselfish": but an intelligent, "long-range" selfishness would perceive that the true wealth of a colony is its human population, and that the depopulation of a colony or the deterioration of its Native population is, in principle, contrary even to the selfish interests of the colonising power.

On another plane, among those who put the welfare of the Natives first, we find a conflict in Mission-policy. On the one hand, there is the policy, exemplified by the White Fathers, of preserving Native social organisation and custom, whilst combating "unnatural" outgrowths and "superstitious" practices ; and there is the policy of other Missions which segregate Christian converts in Mission villages and re-organise them in new social groups according to the pattern of European Christian groups. Pater Schebesta merely mentions this conflict without discussing it. Else it would have been necessary for him to go into the question, how far the "unnatural" and "superstitious" things which it is proposed to abolish hang together, or are of one piece, with the things it is intended to preserve ! With commendable fairness he admits that the more

Europeanising policy, if pursued long enough, yields the results it desires.

With the rich incidental detail of his book—the account of the “leopard-men,” a secret society of terrorists among the Babali; the *mambela* (tribal patterns of cicatrisation) the incision of which takes the place of circumcision at initiation-time with some tribes; the practice of elongating the head by systematic pressure (as illustrated by the head of a girl, pictured on the jacket); the accounts of witchcraft-practices in the several tribes—I have no space to deal. Suffice it to say, that anyone interested in these, and many other things, will find Pater Schebesta’s book full of relevant facts, even if he misses any systematic discussion or interpretation thereof.

A. W. HOERNLÉ.

Annales du Musée du Congo Belge. Tervueren. Belgium.

A. *Fetischen of Tooverbeelden uit Kongo*, door Dr. J. Maes. Ethnographie, Série 6, Tome 2, Fascicule I, pp. 1-64, Plates I-XX. August, 1935.

B. *Le Tissage du Raphia au Congo Belge*, par Hélène Loir. Ethnographie, Série 3, Tome 3, Fascicule I, pp. 1-68, Plates I-IX. October, 1935.

These two publications of the Tervueren Museum are of the same excellent standard as their predecessors. They are a very valuable addition for all ethnographical libraries, especially in countries like South Africa, where the Ethnographical collections are so poor that most of the study of technology among the peoples of Africa has to be done by means of illustrations. Hence, we look forward eagerly to each new publication which supplies us with such beautifully clear and excellently-produced illustrations, together with carefully sifted descriptive notes, and maps showing the area within which each cultural feature discussed is to be found.

A. In the first of these publications, Dr. Maes gives us a very valuable study of the wooden figures, carved in the round, which are used by many different tribes in the Belgian Congo in connection with the practice of magic. These carved figures are by no means distributed over the whole of the Belgian Congo. They are entirely absent from the Ubangi-Welle river region, and also from among the people of the Middle Congo, Aruwimi and Lukenie. The main area of their distribution is undoubtedly from the mouth of the Congo to the confluence of the Kasai, in which region the tribes on both banks and to a considerable distance to north and south use these figures, and thence south of the

Kasai and its tributary, the Sankuru, to the Lualaba. East of the Lualaba the occurrence of these figures is sporadic.

Dr. Maes divides the 900 specimens represented in the Tervueren Museum into four distinct types which are also distributed over four different areas.

1. The first type, found in the Lower Congo area, has for its common characteristic the insertion into the carved figure of a magical substance, without which the figure has no special significance. Within this Lower Congo type, we can distinguish four varieties of "fetish," as the figure complete with its magic component is called, viz., the *Konde*, *Mpezo*, *Mbula* and *Na Moganga*. Of these the *Konde* are the most powerful.

a. A *Konde* is carved in the form of a human being or an animal (chiefly the dog and the leopard), with distorted features to express anger, rage and threat. Into a cavity made in the head, stomach, or back, the magical substance, in a sticky mass, is inserted by the magician and the hole then closed, often by means of a piece of looking-glass. Unfortunately all too little is known about the exact methods of use, the preparation of the magical material, and the proper method of approach to these powerful fetishes. Each *Konde*, however, has its own name, its own special use, its own ritual, its own home village, and, when invoking its help, an iron nail or splinter is jabbed into it, so that museum specimens, which have been long in use in a tribe, are literally covered with jagged iron pieces. It would seem that the working of a *Konde* is a double one. It can, when properly stimulated, send out an influence which is deadly to evil-doers, causing sleeping-sickness, consumption and other fatal diseases; it can also protect its patrons from the evil attempts of enemies to send diseases and other disasters to them.

b. The *Mpezo* are carved in both human and animal form, but the latter are rare. They are always accompanied by a basket into which gifts must be placed when an appeal is being made for assistance. The expression on the face of the *Mpezo* figure is never terrifying; indeed, sometimes the face is smiling and gentle. The human figure also always has a bright high crown, either carved of wood or made of feathers. These fetishes do not kill outright, as do the *Konde*, but they "send" head-aches, skin-diseases and other troubles. Here, again, each has its own name, and its own speciality; and in the proper use iron nails and splinters are also jabbed into them.

c. The *Mbula* fetishes, human or animal in form, are purely protective. They are smaller than the *Konde* figures, and the expression

on the face is always mild and cheerful. The magical substance is inserted in head or breast, and additional "powers" radiate from substances in the many small bags hung round them. These figures also sometimes have iron splinters jabbed into them.

d. The *Na Moganga* fetish never has nails or splinters. Its function is purely curative, and the carved human figure should never leave the hut of the owner whom it protects. On these figures the features of hair-dressing, of facial incisions, and other marks are always clearly recognisable. They are made by the herbalist, and each one radiates an influence which is thought to cure some special type of disease.

2. Among the Bateke and neighbouring tribes in the area of the confluence of the Kasai and the Congo, we find a totally different use for carved human figures, called "Biteke." The figures are usually considerably smaller than the Konde; they are carefully carved with the incisions and hairdressing of the tribe, but they have no magical substances inserted in them. One is carved when a woman becomes pregnant, and when the child is born the proper sexual features are added (or a double face is made if twins are born), and a little of the afterbirth is inserted into a hole in the figure. The figure is carefully preserved in the hut until the child is grown-up, and then it loses all value and is willingly sold to the eager ethnographer!

3. From the west bank of Lake Tanganyika, past Lake Mweru and Lake Bangwelo, to the confluence of the Kasai-Lulua, we have the northern line of a vast area within which yet another type of carved figure is used as a container for powerful magical substances. In this area of the Southern Congo, the face is most carefully carved and full of expression, and in the older specimens bears the tribal markings. The arms are bent and the hands rest on the roughly carved stomach. The legs are bent and short, while the feet are big and cut in the round. Dr. Maes suggests that originally these carvings represented ancestors, but to-day they have animal horns, big and small, inserted into the head, and these horns are filled with magical substances. In addition, magical bundles may hang round neck, body, and wrist. They never have nails hammered into them.

4. Finally, in the Kwango Kwilu area, we find small human figures, carved in wood, usually covered with red powder and with lines of white clay on arms and breast, but sometimes with the body half red, half white, while, in all cases, the magic-working substance is dabbed in blotches all over the carved body. Dr. Maes says regretfully "we know nothing of their significance, power, or method of use."

This very brief description of the various types of carved figures for magical purposes made in the Congo shows us clearly the differentiation of the South Congo area from the Congo north of the river, or even from the area in the great bend of the Congo. Indeed the Kasai-Sankuru rivers form a definite cultural boundary. Even within the area of their use, the four provinces, differentiated by Dr. Maes, stand out very clearly from one another and point to divergent cultural principles. We can only endorse Dr. Maes' plea that workers in the Congo will help in the more detailed investigation of the uses of these objects, so that through them we may get a deeper understanding of the ways of thought of the Africans who use them.



B. In Miss Loir's study of raphia weaving, carefully prepared maps show us the total area of the Congo in which such weaving is, or was, practised; the areas in which different types of apparatus are employed; and the areas in which different types of cloth are produced. From the distribution of raphia weaving, it is quite clear that this type of work is never undertaken in areas in which the raphia palm does not grow, but neither is cloth woven over the whole area in which the palm does grow. More is necessary for the growth of an industry than the bare presence of the raw material needed for the process. Nevertheless, raphia cloth is very widely made in the Congo. Most widespread of all is the weaving of the natural-coloured raphia fibre; other tribes produce a design by using different-coloured strands; while in the bend of the Congo we find cloth made which reveals great patience and high skill. A kind of plush is made, either (and this is the more usual method) by weaving-in strands of different-coloured fibres, and then cutting them off about a quarter of an inch above the general level of the cloth, so that the final effect is a very pleasing soft pattern on the cloth; or, in a small area around the Bakuba tribe on the Sankuru, plain cloth is made by the men and the pattern is afterwards embroidered on by the women. These embroidered cloths of the Kasai are considered to rank among the very best productions of Negro art.

When made, the raphia cloth was used, in the past, for clothing both by men and women; it was also used for exchange purposes, and for wrapping in layers round the honoured dead. From 1912 onwards, the industry declined and in some places almost disappeared, owing to the large importation of European cotton-cloth, but during the recent depression, it is interesting to note, there has been a revival of the raphia-cloth industry.

Every student of African technology will be grateful to Miss Loir for her clear description of the different kinds of technique, for her illustrations of designs, and for the very valuable maps.

A. W. HOERNLÉ.

Land und Voelker von Angola : Studien, Erinnerungen, Fotos der Zweiten Schweizerischen Wissenschaftlichen Mission in Angola. Von Th. Delachaux und Ch.-E. Thiébaud. Neuenburg : Verlagsanstalt Victor Attinger. No date of publication. 143 pages of text; 80 reproductions of photographs; 23 reproductions of drawings; one map of Southern Angola.

This book gives a highly popular account of the travels, experiences and adventures of the Second Swiss Scientific Expedition to Angola which visited that country from April 1932 to November 1933.

It seems to have been mainly a collecting expedition for one, or more, Swiss Museums, bringing back 3500 ethnographic articles, 2500 photographs, and large numbers of zoological, geological, and palaeontological specimens. The text itself offers very little of interest to the Social Anthropologist. Not one of the members of the expedition seems to have been an anthropologist, either "physical" or "social." There are no anthropometric measurements recorded, and the descriptions of Native types, their customs, their dress, etc., might have been furnished by a reasonably intelligent and observant globe-trotter. There is, for example, a chapter (ch. 10) on "Die Buschmaenner," relating a meeting with a group of about 30 individuals, and giving a description of their physical type and manner of life which adds nothing to, and indeed falls far short of, what is known about Bushmen.

Here and there, a detail of interest to the Social Anthropologist occurs, as it were by accident, like the account, on p. 97, of the preparation by the Kwamatui women of the Olukula-butter, a sort of pomade used for the hair, which owes its red colour to the use, in powdered form, of a certain kind of wood (apparently not identified by the members of the expedition), which the Negroes obtain from the Bushmen; or the underground cellars in which for climatic reasons the potter does his work (pp. 113, ff.); or the description, with good diagrams, of the "werfs" of a Humbe- and a Kwanyama-family. There are also good drawings of the various types of dolls made by the different tribes, and diagrams of some of the ornamentations found on utensils, and of a few designs in tattooing on human bodies.

The map is overloaded with 24 symbols, standing, not only for roads and rivers, but also for mission stations, expedition camps, and settlements of various tribes ; to say nothing of the miniature pictures of game, after the fashion of the early cartographers. The best part of the book (which, by the way, lacks an index) are the reproductions of photographs. Both the originals and the reproductions are extraordinarily good, and the authors deserve every praise for their skill.

The book as a whole is, clearly, for the general reader rather than for the specialist. The former will enjoy the whole of it ; the latter at least the points mentioned above.

A. W. HOERNLÉ.

Die Entstehung flektierender Sprachen : Carl Meinhof. Dietrich Reimer (Andrews & Steiner), Berlin, 1936. 108 pp.

The appearance of a new publication by Professor Meinhof must always be an event of first-rate importance to Africanists, and the present book which is, in the author's own words, " the result of decades of work," will be particularly warmly welcomed by all those who know the extent and quality of his scholarship. Some of the material which we are given here has already been published, though in different and dispersed form, in the author's previous writings, and all of it, we are told, has been presented to his students in the form of lectures. But Professor Meinhof has subjected the previously-published material to revision and elaboration of both form and content, so that, in a sense, it is as new as the hitherto unpublished matter, which forms the greater part of the work. The whole constitutes a comprehensive statement of the author's views, as they stand at the present time, concerning the nature and origin of some of the fundamental features of certain African language-families, and concerning the light which some of these features may throw upon the nature and genesis of some typical characteristics of the so-called inflexional languages. The value of the work, therefore, and the importance of the views expressed in it, are not confined to the African field, but extend not only to the field of inflexional languages generally but also to that of even wider linguistic problems as well.

The book consists of fourteen chapters. The first, thirteenth, and fourteenth, consist respectively of a statement and justification of the method employed, a summary of the conclusions reached, and a select bibliography of relevant works. The second and third contain respectively an enumeration and discussion of the chief distinguishing features of inflexional languages, and a description of the three great

families of inflexional languages dealt with—the Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Hamitic—together with a discussion of the genealogical interrelationships of these languages. Chapters four to twelve each constitute separate studies of certain major characteristics of such languages, and of the light thrown upon them by corresponding characteristics in other—chiefly African—languages, whether of the inflexional type or not. Such are, in the order of their treatment, formative elements and their origin, tone and stress, sound-changes, internal vowel-change, the classification of nouns, grammatical gender, the multiplicity of plural formations, the existence of case, and the creation of verbal forms. The treatment of each of these features is comprehensive, the author ranging, not only over the whole field of African languages for illustration and example, but also over the Semitic and Indo-European fields as well, and including even some illustrative material from languages outside this wide range. Throughout, we are given many interesting and stimulating points of view, and many striking examples to bear out the theories which are advanced; and there can be no doubt that not only Africanists, but also linguists in other fields, particularly those who are specially concerned with tracing the psychological origins of linguistic phenomena, will learn much from Professor Meinhof's facts and ideas.

No detailed discussion of the work as a whole is possible here; but the reviewer may perhaps be permitted to venture some few remarks upon the conclusions which Professor Meinhof has reached, and to submit certain considerations which appear to him to arise out of the book under review. Professor Meinhof concludes, firstly, that inflexional languages possess a series of common traits which distinguish them from all other languages, and that ancient relationships exist between them—a subsidiary conclusion which is strengthened by the fact that they occupy a contiguous geographical area. In the second place, however, he also feels that inflexional languages are not completely differentiated from non-inflexional ones, and that, in Africa especially, we are faced with a number of intermediate linguistic types, which may be only recently allied to either of their components, but which, in the case of the Hamitic languages certainly, are closely allied with these on a large number of points. His final conclusion is a subsidiary one, and will only be mentioned here: it is that the relationship between the Semitic and the Hamitic languages can no longer be questioned at the present time.

It may be remarked at the outset that it would seem a theoretically somewhat doubtful procedure to restrict the term "inflexional

languages" to the three great families, the Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Hamitic, and to determine the structural characteristics of inflexional languages as such upon the basis of these three families only. But, even if this is done initially, in order to obtain a working hypothesis, some attempt ought to be made—and might, in this connection, have been made by one so eminently qualified as Professor Meinhof, and so favourably situated as regards access to material and expert opinion concerning other linguistic fields—to determine whether or not other language-families possess characteristics which would group them into the inflexional category. We would then know whether the tale of inflexional languages had really been told, and whether the distinguishing characteristics of this type of linguistic structure had been fully enumerated. As it is, Professor Meinhof's first conclusion, that these languages possess structural features which divide them sharply from all other structural types, already modified by his own reservations alluded to above, and others made in the chapter on the nature of these languages, must be accepted with still further reserve in the face of his second main conclusion, regarding the existence, particularly in Africa, of a number of intermediate types showing numerous and close affinities with non-inflexional as well as with inflexional languages, and, most of all, in the face of the whole argument of his present book, which, to the reviewer's mind, demonstrates forcibly and comprehensively, not only the psychological and genealogical relationships in structure between the various African language-families, but also the basic unity underlying the most divergent types of language, the line of evolution running through the varied morphological types, and the indistinct and shifting lines of demarcation between such different types as tradition has defined.

For the general linguist, therefore, certain important considerations seem to follow from Professor Meinhof's book. The first is the demonstration, given particularly in the chapter on the origin of formative elements, that structural features in one language may be genetically, if not genealogically, connected with other structural features in other languages with apparently quite different morphology, and further that, as shown particularly in the chapter on the classification of nouns, a morphological feature found only in a certain connection in one type of language may sometimes prove to be but a special case of a much wider application of the same principle obtaining in other languages. From such and other demonstrations it is but a deduction to a broader principle—namely that apparently quite different morphological types may prove to be but variant developments of an underlying similarity

of morphological structure which is the basis of all language-form. Such a conception would do away with arbitrary classifications of morphological types, difficult and unsatisfactory in their application to the actual infinite variety met with in the many languages known to us, and in the many more whose nature we are only now discovering, and would make room for a much more pregnant conception of a linguistic type as a living and ever-changing stage in the life-history of a given language or language-family.

From the point of view of the specialist in African languages, also, certain highly-important considerations emerge from Professor Meinhof's results. The genealogical connection between Bantu and Ful on the one hand, and between Ful and Hamitic on the other, are now no longer subject to serious doubt; and the demonstration that there exists a fundamental relationship between Hamitic and Semitic will be welcomed as another important link in the long chain of linguistic interrelationships which we see in Africa. There is yet a further link, upon which the present book does not lay much stress, but which seems to the reviewer to be in process of being forged as well; the proof of the ultimate genetic relationship between Bantu and Sudanic, already noticed by Professor Westermann in his *Westlichen Sudansprachen* and elsewhere, and now rendered more probable than ever by Professor Meinhof's chapter on the origin of formative elements, and the recognition of, *inter alia*, class-denotation as one feature in a number of Sudanic languages hitherto unsuspected of containing any such principle. In this way, it may be that the structural barriers between the various languages of Africa, already weak and vacillating on purely theoretical considerations, will fall completely before the battering-ram of an ever-increasing body of facts well and truly interpreted.

G. P. LESTRADE.

